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CONTENTS.

PRINCIPAL PAPERS.

	PAGE.
✓ DUBOIS, W. E. B. The Study of the Negro Problems	I
— DURAND, E. DANA. Political and Municipal Legislation in 1897	174
✓ FAIRLIE, J. A. The Economic Effects of Ship Canals	54
✓ HAMILTON, J. H. The Relation of Postal Savings Banks to Commercial Banks	44
✓ HERSHEY, A. S. Intervention and the Recognition of Cuban Independence	353
✓ JOHNSON, J. F. Proposed Reforms of the Monetary System	191
— ROWE, L. S. The Municipality and the Gas Supply .	301
✓ SIGEL, F. Sociology Applied to Politics	137
✓ WEYL, WALTER E. Causes Affecting Railway Rates and Fares	324
✓ YOUNG, J. T. Administrative Centralization and Decentralization in France	24

BRIEFER COMMUNICATIONS.

BRANSON, W. J. The New York Primary Election Law	381
DEVINE, E. T. The Committee of Fifty and the Investigation of the Liquor Problem	225
TAYLOR, W. G. L. A Misguided Philosopher in the Field of Economics	227

MISCELLANY.

American Economic Association	271
National Civil Service Reform League— <i>M. B. May</i>	269
Third Congress of the International Institute of Sociology— <i>R. Worms</i>	109

PERSONAL NOTES.

Geffcken, H., 388.
 Lotz, W., 387.
 von Marquardsen, H., 386.
 Mataja, V., 385.
 Robinson, M. H., 384.

Shepherd, F. S., 384.
 Sikes, E. W., 384.
 Troeltsch, W., 388.
 Wolf, J., 386.

BOOK DEPARTMENT.

CONDUCTED BY HENRY R. SEAGER.

REVIEWS.

PAGE.

- ALDEN, GEORGE H. New Governments West of the Alleghanies before 1780.—*B. F. Shambaugh* 246
- ALLARD, A. La Crise agricole.—*D. Kinley* 396
- ANDLER, C. Les Origines du Socialisme d'Etat en Allemagne.—*J. W. Jenks* 248
- BLISS, W. D. P. The Encyclopedia of Social Reform.—*S. M. Lindsay* 398
- BURGESS, J. W. The Middle Period, 1817-1858.—*J. L. Stewart*. 89
- DE COUBERTIN, P. L'Evolution française sous la Troisième République.—*J. H. Robinson* 400
- DE COUBERTIN, P. (Trans. Isabel F. Hapgood. Intro. A. Shaw.) The Evolution of France under the Third Republic.—*J. H. Robinson* 400
- COUTTS, W. A. Agricultural Depression in the United States.—*W. A. Scott* 92
- DAVIDSON, JOHN. The Bargain Theory of Wages.—*S. Sherwood*. 403
- EGERTON, H. E. A Short History of British Colonial Policy.—*E. R. Johnson* 250
- GOODNOW, F. J. Municipal Problems. *L. S. Rowe* 252
- GREENIDGE, A. H. J. Handbook of Greek Constitutional History.—*D. C. Munro* 94
- HART, A. B. American History Told by Contemporaries. Volume I. Era of Colonization, 1492-1689.—*G. H. Haynes* . . 94
- HAZEN, C. D. Contemporary American Opinion of the French Revolution.—*C. H. Lincoln* 98
- MACDONALD, WILLIAM. Select Documents Illustrative of the History of the United States.—*H. V. Ames* 405
- MALTBIE, M. R. English Local Government of To-day.—*J. T. Young* 100

CONTENTS.

v

	PAGE.
VON MAYR, GEORG. Statistik und Gesellschaftslehre.— <i>R. P. Falkner</i>	255
MCCRADY, EDWARD. History of South Carolina under the Proprietary Government.— <i>B. C. Steiner</i>	407
MÜLBERGER, A. Die Eisenbahnreform in Württemberg.— <i>W. E. Weyl</i>	102
RATZEL, F. (Trans. A. J. Butler. Intro. E. B. Tylor.) The History of Mankind. Volume II.— <i>L. M. Keasbey</i>	259
SEIGNOBOS, C. Histoire politique de l'Europe contemporaine.— <i>C. M. Andrews</i>	411
SOULIER, H. Des Origines et de l'Etat social de la Nation française.— <i>C. H. Lincoln</i>	415
STICKNEY, A. State Control of Trade and Commerce by National or State Authority.— <i>E. R. Johnson</i>	104
VINCENT, G. E. The Social Mind and Education.— <i>L. F. Ward</i>	264
WERNICKE, J. System der nationalen Schutzpolitik nach Aussehen.— <i>G. M. Fisk</i>	106
WILCOX, W. F. Area and Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census.— <i>R. P. Falkner</i>	411
WILCOX, W. F. Density and Distribution of Population in the United States at the Eleventh Census.— <i>R. P. Falkner</i>	411
WYCKOFF, W. A. The Workers.— <i>S. M. Lindsay</i>	276

NOTES.

Art and Life and the Building and Decoration of Cities	79
ASH, M. The Greater New York Charter as Enacted in 1897	235
Bulletin of the Department of Labor	80
CHADSEY, C. E. The Struggle between President Johnson and Congress over Reconstruction	236
CHAMBERLAIN, E. T. Report of the Commissioner of Navigation]	242
CHANNING, EDWARD. Students' History of the United States	390
CHAPMAN, J. W. State Tax Commissions in the United States	391
CLEVELAND, GROVER. The Self-Made Man in American Life	81
COHN, G. Die deutsche Frauenbewegung	81
COURNOT, A. Researches into the Mathematical Principles of the Theory of Wealth	237

	PAGE.
DAVENPORT, H. J. Outlines of Economic Theory	237
DONIOL, H. M. Thiers, le Comte de St. Vallier, le Gal. de Mantouffell, Libération du Territoire (1871-1873)	81
Editorial Note	235
ELIOT, C. N. American Contributions to Civilization	391
FISHER, I. A Brief Introduction to the Infinitesimal Calculus	82
FISK, GEORGE M. Die handelspolitischen und sonstigen völkerrechtlichen Beziehungen zwischen Deutschland und den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika	82
FRAZER, R. W. British India	83
DE GREEF, G. L'Evolution des Croyances et des Doctrines politiques	238
HAINES, HENRY S. American Railway Management	239
VON HALLE, E. Baumwollproduktion und Pflanzungswirtschaft in den Nordamerikanischen Südstaaten	83
HARRIS, GEORGE. Inequality and Progress	239
HASSALL, A. A Handbook of European History, 476-1871	84
HERRIOTT, JOHN. Biennial Report of the Treasurer of the State of Iowa	85
HODGES, GEORGE. Faith and Social Service	86
Hungarian Royal Statistical Office	243
JAMES, E. J. The Charters of the City of Chicago. Part I	392
KÄHLER, W. Die Preussischen Kommunalanleihen mit besonderer Rücksicht auf eine Centralisation des Kommunkredits	240
LABRIOLA, A. Essais sur la conception matérialiste de l'histoire	86
LANGLOIS, C. V. and SEIGNOBOS, C. Introduction aux Études historiques	241
LEROY-BRAULIEU, P. Les nouvelles sociétés Anglo-Saxonnes	79
MEITZEN, A. Die Flur Thalheim als Beispiel der Ortsanlage und Feldeintheilung im Siebenburger Sachsenlande	393
Putnam's Spring Announcements	241
REIZENSTEIN, M. The Economic History of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad	87
RENARD, G. Le Régime socialiste	393
Report of the Labour Department of the English Board of Trade	242
ROBINSON, H. P. The Year Book of Railway Literature. Vol. I.	245
SCHULTZE, W. Die Produktions und Preisentwicklung der Rohprodukte der Textilindustrie	87
SEIGNOBOS, C. See LANGLOIS.	
SHERWOOD, S. Tendencies in American Economic Thought	394

CONTENTS.

vii

	PAGE.
SWANK, J. M. Notes and Comments on Industrial, Economic, Political and Historical Subjects	395
THOMAS, D. A. Present State of the Coal Trade in the United Kingdom	88
WILCOX, D. F. The Study of City Government	244
WORMS, P. Annales de l'Institut International de Sociologie . .	244
Zeitschrift für Socialwissenschaft	395

Books received	299, 447
--------------------------	----------

NOTES ON MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

CONDUCTED BY L. S. ROWE.

Baltimore	425
Birmingham	285
Boston	119, 278, 423
Brooklyn	115, 422
Buffalo	122
Chicago	276
Cincinnati	427
Cleveland	428
Glasgow	430
Grenoble	286
New York	113, 274
Omaha	429
Philadelphia	117, 422
Pottsville	122
Primary Elections in New York	420
San Francisco	284
Street Railways in Massachusetts	423
Street Railways in Pennsylvania	277
Washington	426

SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES.

CONDUCTED BY S. M. LINDSAY.

Charities in New York	291
Charity in Washington	296

	PAGE.
College, Social and University Settlements	292
Consumers' League of New York	435
Dispossessed Tenants in New York	124
Federation of Churches and Christian Workers in New York . .	296
Goodrich House, Cleveland	134
Liquor Traffic in New York	293
Philadelphia Public Baths	127
Poverty, Causes of	130
Sociology, Instruction in	438
Vacant Lot Cultivation	440
Winona Social Science Club	288

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ANNALS
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THE STUDY OF THE NEGRO PROBLEMS.

The present period in the development of sociological study is a trying one; it is the period of observation, research and comparison—work always wearisome, often aimless, without well-settled principles and guiding lines, and subject ever to the pertinent criticism: What, after all, has been accomplished? To this the one positive answer which years of research and speculation have been able to return is that the phenomena of society are worth the most careful and systematic study, and whether or not this study may eventually lead to a systematic body of knowledge deserving the name of science, it cannot in any case fail to give the world a mass of truth worth the knowing.

Being then in a period of observation and comparison, we must confess to ourselves that the sociologists of few nations have so good an opportunity for observing the growth and evolution of society as those of the United States. The rapid rise of a young country, the vast social changes, the wonderful economic development, the bold political experiments, and the contact of varying moral standards—all these make for American students crucial tests of social action, microcosmic reproductions of long centuries of

world history, and rapid—even violent—repetitions of great social problems. Here is a field for the sociologist—a field rich, but little worked, and full of great possibilities. European scholars envy our opportunities and it must be said to our credit that great interest in the observation of social phenomena has been aroused in the last decade—an interest of which much is ephemeral and superficial, but which opens the way for broad scholarship and scientific effort.

In one field, however,—and a field perhaps larger than any other single domain of social phenomena, there does not seem to have been awakened as yet a fitting realization of the opportunities for scientific inquiry. This is the group of social phenomena arising from the presence in this land of eight million persons of African descent.

It is my purpose in this paper to discuss certain considerations concerning the study of the social problems affecting American Negroes; first, as to the historical development of these problems; then as to the necessity for their careful systematic study at the present time; thirdly, as to the results of scientific study of the Negro up to this time; fourthly, as to the scope and method which future scientific inquiry should take, and, lastly, regarding the agencies by which this work can best be carried out.

I. DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEGRO PROBLEMS.

A social problem is the failure of an organized social group to realize its group ideals, through the inability to adapt a certain desired line of action to given conditions of life. If, for instance, a government founded on universal manhood suffrage has a portion of its population so ignorant as to be unable to vote intelligently, such ignorance becomes a menacing social problem. The impossibility of economic and social development in a community where a large per cent of the population refuse to abide by the social rules of order, makes a problem of crime and lawlessness.

Prostitution becomes a social problem when the demands of luxurious home life conflict with marriage customs.

Thus a social problem is ever a relation between conditions and action, and as conditions and actions vary and change from group to group from time to time and from place to place, so social problems change, develop and grow. Consequently, though we ordinarily speak of the Negro problem as though it were one unchanged question, students must recognize the obvious facts that this problem, like others, has had a long historical development, has changed with the growth and evolution of the nation; moreover, that it is not *one* problem, but rather a plexus of social problems, some new, some old, some simple, some complex; and these problems have their one bond of unity in the act that they group themselves about those Africans whom two centuries of slave-trading brought into the land.

In the latter part of the seventeenth and early in the eighteenth centuries, the central and all-absorbing economic need of America was the creation of a proper labor supply to develop American wealth. This question had been answered in the West Indies by enslaving Indians and Negroes. In the colonies of the mainland it was answered by the importation of Negroes and indentured servants. Immediately then there arose the question of the legal status of these slaves and servants; and dozens of enactments, from Massachusetts to Georgia, were made "for the proper regulation of slaves and servants." Such statutes sought to solve problems of labor and not of race or color. Two circumstances, however, soon began to differentiate in the problem of labor, problems which concerned slaves for life from those which concerned servants for limited periods; and these circumstances were the economic superiority of the slave system, and the fact that the slaves were neither of the same race, language nor religion as the servants and their masters. In laboring classes thus widely separated there naturally arose a difference in legal and

social standing. Colonial statutes soon ceased to embrace the regulations applying to slaves and servants in one chapter, and laws were passed for servants on the one hand and for Negro slaves on the other.

As slave labor, under the peculiar conditions of colonial life, increased in value and efficiency, the importations of Africans increased, while those of indented servants decreased; this gave rise to new social problems, namely, those of protecting a feeble civilization against an influx of barbarism and heathenism. Between 1750 and 1800 an increasing number of laws began to form a peculiar and systematic slave code based on a distinct idea of social caste. Even, as this slave code was developing, new social conditions changed the aspect of the problems. The laws hitherto had been made to fit a class distinguished by its condition more than by its race or color. There arose now, however, a class of English-speaking Negroes born on American soil, and members of Christian churches; there sprang from illicit intercourse and considerable intermarriage with indented servants, a number of persons of mixed blood; there was also created by emancipation and the birth of black sons of white women a new class of free Negroes: all these developments led to a distinct beginning of group life among Negroes. Repeated attempts at organized insurrection were made; wholesale running away, like that which established the exiles in Florida, was resorted to; and a class of black landholders and voters arose. Such social movements brought the colonists face to face with new and serious problems; which they sought at first to settle in curious ways, denying the rite of baptism, establishing the legal presumption that all Negroes and mulattoes were slaves, and finally changing the Slave Code into a Black Code, replacing a caste of condition by a caste of race, harshly stopping legal sexual intercourse, and seeking to prevent further complications by restricting and even suppressing the slave-trade.

This concerted and determined action again changed the character of the Negro problems, but they did not cease to be grave. The inability of the Negro to escape from a servile caste into political freedom turned the problems of the group into problems of family life. On the separated plantations and in households the Negro became a constituent member of the family, speaking its language, worshipping in its churches, sharing its traditions, bearing its name, and sometimes sharing its blood; the talented slaves found large freedom in the intimate intercourse with the family which they enjoyed; they lost many traditions of their fatherland, and their ideals blended with the ideals of their new country. Some men began to see in this development a physical, economic and moral danger to the land, and they busied themselves with questions as to how they might provide for the development of white and black without demoralizing the one or amalgamating with the other. The solution of these difficulties was sought in a widespread attempt to eliminate the Negro from the family as he had formerly been eliminated from the state, by a process of emancipation that made him and his sons not even half-free, with the indefinite notion of colonizing the anomalous serfs thus created. This policy was carried out until one-half the land and one-sixth of the Negroes were quasi-freemen.

Just as the nation was on the point of realizing the futility of colonization, one of those strange incalculable world movements began to be felt throughout civilized states—a movement so vast that we call it the economic revolution of the nineteenth century. A world demand for crops peculiarly suited to the South, substituted in Europe the factory system for the house industry, and in America the large plantation slave system for the family patriarchy; slavery became an industrial system and not a training school for serfdom; the Black Codes underwent a sudden transformation which hardened the lot of the slave,

facilitated the slave trade, hindered further emancipation and rendered the condition of the free Negro unbearable. The question of race and color in America assumed a new and peculiar importance when it thus lay at the basis of some of the world's greatest industries.

The change in industrial conditions, however, not only affected the demands of a world market, but so increased the efficiency of labor, that a labor system, which in 1750 was eminently successful, soon became under the altered conditions of 1850 not only an economic monstrosity, but a political menace, and so rapidly did the crisis develop that the whole evolution of the nation came to a stand-still, and the settlement of our social problems had to be left to the clumsy method of brute force.

So far as the Negro race is concerned, the Civil War simply left us face to face with the same sort of problems of social condition and caste which were beginning to face the nation a century ago. It is these problems that we are to-day somewhat helplessly—not to say carelessly—facing, forgetful that they are living, growing social questions whose progeny will survive to curse the nation, unless we grapple with them manfully and intelligently.

2. THE PRESENT NEGRO PROBLEMS.

Such are some of the changes of condition and social movement which have, since 1619, altered and broadened the social problems grouped about the American Negro. In this development of successive questions about one centre, there is nothing peculiar to American history. Given any fixed condition or fact—a river Nile, a range of Alps, an alien race, or a national idea—and problems of society will at every stage of advance group themselves about it. All social growth means a succession of social problems—they constitute growth, they denote that laborious and often baffling adjustment of action and condition which is the essence of progress, and while a particular

fact or circumstance may serve in one country as a rallying point of many intricate questions of adjustment, the absence of that particular fact would not mean the absence of all social problems. Questions of labor, caste, ignorance and race were bound to arise in America; they were simply complicated here and intensified there by the presence of the Negro.

Turning now from this brief summary of the varied phases of these questions, let us inquire somewhat more carefully into the form under which the Negro problems present themselves to-day after 275 years of evolution. Their existence is plainly manifested by the fact that a definitely segregated mass of eight millions of Americans do not wholly share the national life of the people; are not an integral part of the social body. The points at which they fail to be incorporated into this group life constitute the particular Negro problems, which can be divided into two distinct but correlated parts, depending on two facts:

First—Negroes do not share the full national life because as a mass they have not reached a sufficiently high grade of culture.

Secondly—They do not share the full national life because there has always existed in America a conviction—varying in intensity, but always widespread—that people of Negro blood should not be admitted into the group life of the nation no matter what their condition might be.

Considering the problems arising from the backward development of Negroes, we may say that the mass of this race does not reach the social standards of the nation with respect to

- (a) Economic condition.
- (b) Mental training.
- (c) Social efficiency.

Even if special legislation and organized relief intervene, freedmen always start life under an economic disadvantage which generations, perhaps centuries, cannot overcome.

Again, of all the important constituent parts of our nation, the Negro is by far the most ignorant; nearly half of the race are absolutely illiterate, only a minority of the other half have thorough common school training, and but a remnant are liberally educated. The great deficiency of the Negro, however, is his small knowledge of the art of organized social life—that last expression of human culture. His development in group life was abruptly broken off by the slave ship, directed into abnormal channels and dwarfed by the Black Codes, and suddenly wrenched anew by the Emancipation Proclamation. He finds himself, therefore, peculiarly weak in that nice adaptation of individual life to the life of the group which is the essence of civilization. This is shown in the grosser forms of sexual immorality, disease and crime, and also in the difficulty of race organization for common ends in economic or in intellectual lines.

For these reasons the Negro would fall behind any average modern nation, and he is unusually handicapped in the midst of a nation which excels in its extraordinary economic development, its average of popular intelligence and in the boldness of its experiments in organized social life.

These problems of poverty, ignorance and social degradation differ from similar problems the world over in one important particular, and that is the fact that they are complicated by a peculiar environment. This constitutes the second class of Negro problems, and they rest, as has been said, on the widespread conviction among Americans that no persons of Negro descent should become constituent members of the social body. This feeling gives rise to economic problems, to educational problems, and nice questions of social morality; it makes it more difficult for black men to earn a living or spend their earnings as they will; it gives them poorer school facilities and restricted contact with cultured classes; and it becomes, throughout the land, a cause and excuse for discontent, lawlessness, laziness and injustice.

3. THE NECESSITY OF CAREFULLY STUDYING THESE PROBLEMS.

Such, barely stated, are the elements of the present Negro problems. It is to little purpose however to name the elements of a problem unless we can also say accurately to what extent each element enters into the final result: whether, for instance, the present difficulties arise more largely from ignorance than from prejudice, or *vice versa*. This we do not know, and here it is that every intelligent discussion of the American Negro comes to a standstill. Nearly a hundred years ago Thomas Jefferson complained that the nation had never studied the real condition of the slaves and that, therefore, all general conclusions about them were extremely hazardous. We of another age can scarcely say that we have made material progress in this study. Yet these problems, so vast and intricate, demanding trained research and expert analysis, touching questions that affect the very foundation of the republic and of human progress, increasing and multiplying year by year, would seem to urge the nation with increasing force to measure and trace and understand thoroughly the underlying elements of this example of human evolution.

Now first we should study the Negro problems in order to distinguish between the different and distinct problems affecting this race. Nothing makes intelligent discussion of the Negro's position so fruitless as the repeated failure to discriminate between the different questions that concern him. If a Negro discusses the question, he is apt to discuss simply the problem of race prejudice; if a Southern white man writes on the subject he is apt to discuss problems of ignorance, crime and social degradation; and yet each calls the problem he discusses *the* Negro problem, leaving in the dark background the really crucial question as to the relative importance of the many problems involved. Before we can begin to study the Negro intelligently, we

must realize definitely that not only is he affected by all the varying social forces that act on any nation at his stage of advancement, but that in addition to these there is reacting upon him the mighty power of a peculiar and unusual social environment which affects to some extent every other social force. ♥

In the second place we should seek to know and measure carefully all the forces and conditions that go to make up these different problems, to trace the historical development of these conditions, and discover as far as possible the probable trend of further development. Without doubt this would be difficult work, and it can with much truth be objected that we cannot ascertain, by the methods of sociological research known to us, all such facts thoroughly and accurately. To this objection it is only necessary to answer that however difficult it may be to know all about the Negro, it is certain that we can know vastly more than we do, and that we can have our knowledge in more systematic and intelligible form. As things are, our opinions upon the Negro are more matters of faith than of knowledge. Every schoolboy is ready to discuss the matter, and there are few men that have not settled convictions. Such a situation is dangerous. Whenever any nation allows impulse, whim or hasty conjecture to usurp the place of conscious, normative, intelligent action, it is in grave danger. The sole aim of any society is to settle its problems in accordance with its highest ideals, and the only rational method of accomplishing this is to study those problems in the light of the best scientific research.

Finally, the American Negro deserves study for the great end of advancing the cause of science in general. No such opportunity to watch and measure the history and development of a great race of men ever presented itself to the scholars of a modern nation. If they miss this opportunity — if they do the work in a slipshod, unsystematic manner — if they dally with the truth to humor the whims of the day,

they do far more than hurt the good name of the American people; they hurt the cause of scientific truth the world over, they voluntarily decrease human knowledge of a universe of which we are ignorant enough, and they degrade the high end of truth-seeking in a day when they need more and more to dwell upon its sanctity.

4. THE WORK ALREADY ACCOMPLISHED.

It may be said that it is not altogether correct to assert that few attempts have been made to study these problems or to put the nation in possession of a body of truth in accordance with which it might act intelligently. It is far from my purpose to disparage in any way the work already done by students of these questions; much valuable effort has without doubt been put upon the field, and yet a careful survey of the field seems but to emphasize the fact that the work done bears but small proportion to the work still to be done.*

Moreover the studies made hitherto can as a whole be justly criticised in three particulars: (1) They have not

*A bibliography of the American Negro is a much needed undertaking. The existing literature may be summarized briefly as follows: In the line of historical research there are such general studies of the Negro as Williams' "History of the Negro Race in America," Wilson's, Goodell's, Blake's, Copley's, Greeley's and Cobb's studies of slavery, and the treatment of the subject in the general histories of Bancroft, Von Holst and others. We have, too, brief special histories of the institution of slavery in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the District of Columbia, Maryland and North Carolina. The slave trade has been studied by Clarkson, Buxton, Benezet, Carey and others; Miss McDougall has written a monograph on fugitive slaves; the Slave Codes have been digested by Hurd, Stroud, Wheeler, Goodell and Cobb; the economic aspects of the slave system were brilliantly outlined by Cairnes, and a great amount of material is available, showing the development of anti-slavery opinion. Of statistical and sociological material the United States Government has collected much in its census and bureau reports; and congressional investigations, and state governments and societies have added something to this. Moreover, we have the statistical studies of DeBow, Helper, Gannett and Hoffman, the observations of Olmsted and Kemble, and the studies and interpretations by Chambers, Otken, Bruce, Cable, Fortune, Brackett, Ingle and Tourgée; foreign students, from De Tocqueville and Martineau to Halle and Bryce, have studied the subject; something has been done in collecting folklore and music, and in studying dialect, and some anthropological material has been collected. Beside this, there is a mass of periodical literature, of all degrees of value, teeming with opinions, observations, personal experiences and discussions.

been based on a thorough knowledge of details; (2) they have been unsystematical; (3) they have been uncritical.

In few subjects have historians been more content to go on indefinitely repeating current traditions and uninvestigated facts. We are still gravely told that the slave trade ceased in 1808, that the docility of Africans made slave insurrections almost unknown, and that the Negro never developed in this country a self-conscious group life before 1860. In the hasty endeavor to cover a broad subject when the details were unknown, much superficial work has been current, like that, for instance, of a newspaper reporter who spent "the odd intervals of leisure in active newspaper work" for "nearly eighteen months," in the District of Columbia, and forthwith published a study of 80,000 Negroes, with observations on their institutions and development.

Again, the work done has been lamentably unsystematic and fragmentary. Scientific work must be subdivided, but conclusions which affect the whole subject must be based on a study of the whole. One cannot study the Negro in freedom and come to general conclusions about his destiny without knowing his history in slavery. A vast set of problems having a common centre must, too, be studied according to some general plan, if the work of different students is to be compared or to go toward building a unified body of knowledge. A plan once begun must be carried out, and not like that of our erratic census reports, after allowing us to follow the size of farms in the South for three decades, suddenly leave us wondering as to the relation of farms and farm families. Students of black codes should not stop suddenly with 1863, and travelers and observers whose testimony would be of great value if arranged with some system and reasonably limited in time and space, must not ramble on without definite plan or purpose and render their whole work of doubtful value.

Most unfortunate of all, however, is the fact that so much of the work done on the Negro question is notoriously

uncritical; uncritical from lack of discrimination in the selection and weighing of evidence; uncritical in choosing the proper point of view from which to study these problems, and, finally, uncritical from the distinct bias in the minds of so many writers. To illustrate, the layman who does not pretend to first hand knowledge of the subject and who would learn of students is to-day woefully puzzled by absolutely contradictory evidence. One student declares that Negroes are advancing in knowledge and ability; that they are working, establishing homes, and going into business, and that the problem will soon be one of the past. Another student of equal learning declares that the Negro is degenerating—sinking into crime and social immorality, receiving little help from education, still in the main a menial servant, and destined in a short time to settle the problem by dying entirely out. Such and many other contradictory conclusions arise from the uncritical use of material. A visitor to a great Negro school in the South catches the inspiration of youth, studies the work of graduates, and imbibes the hopes of teachers and immediately infers from the situation of a few hundred the general condition of a population numbering twice that of Holland. A college graduate sees the slums of a Southern city, looks at the plantation field hands, and has some experience with Negro servants, and from the laziness, crime and disease which he finds, draws conclusions as to eight millions of people, stretched from Maine to Texas and from Florida to Washington. We continually judge the whole from the part we are familiar with; we continually assume the material we have at hand to be typical; we reverently receive a column of figures without asking who collected them, how they were arranged, how far they are valid and what chances of error they contain; we receive the testimony of men without asking whether they were trained or ignorant, careful or careless, truthful or given to exaggeration, and, above all, whether they are giving facts or opinions. It is so easy for a

man who has already formed his conclusions to receive any and all testimony in their favor without carefully weighing and testing it, that we sometimes find in serious scientific studies very curious proof of broad conclusions. To cite an extreme case, in a recently published study of the Negro, a part of the argument as to the physical condition of all these millions, is made to rest on the measurement of fifteen black boys in a New York reformatory.

The widespread habit of studying the Negro from one point of view only, that of his influence on the white inhabitants, is also responsible for much uncritical work. The slaves are generally treated as one inert changeless mass, and most studies of slavery apparently have no conception of a social evolution and development among them. The slave code of a state is given, the progress of anti-slavery sentiment, the economic results of the system and the general influence of man on master are studied, but of the slave himself, of his group life and social institutions, of remaining traces of his African tribal life, of his amusements, his conversion to Christianity, his acquiring of the English tongue—in fine, of his whole reaction against his environment, of all this we hear little or nothing, and would apparently be expected to believe that the Negro arose from the dead in 1863. Yet all the testimony of law and custom, of tradition and present social condition, shows us that the Negro at the time of emancipation had passed through a social evolution which far separated him from his savage ancestors.

The most baneful cause of uncritical study of the Negro is the manifest and far-reaching bias of writers. Americans are born in many cases with deep, fierce convictions on the Negro question, and in other cases imbibe them from their environment. When such men come to write on the subject, without technical training, without breadth of view, and in some cases without a deep sense of the sanctity of scientific truth, their testimony, however interesting

as opinion, must of necessity be worthless as science. Thus too often the testimony of Negroes and their friends has to be thrown out of court on account of the manifest prejudice of the writers; on the other hand, the testimony of many other writers in the North and especially in the South has to be received with reserve on account of too evident bias.

Such facts make the path of students and foreign observers peculiarly thorny. The foreigner's views, if he be not exceptionally astute, will depend largely on his letters of introduction; the home student's views, on his birthplace and parentage. All students are apt to fail to recognize the magnitude and importance of these problems, and to succumb to the vulgar temptation of basing on any little contribution they make to the study of these problems, general conclusions as to the origin and destiny of the Negro people in time and eternity. Thus we possess endless final judgments as to the American Negro emanating from men of influence and learning, in the very face of the fact known to every accurate student, that there exists to-day no sufficient material of proven reliability, upon which any scientist can base definite and final conclusions as to the present condition and tendencies of the eight million American Negroes; and that any person or publication purporting to give such conclusions simply makes statements which go beyond the reasonably proven evidence.

5. A PROGRAM OF FUTURE STUDY.

If we admit the deep importance of the Negro problems, the necessity of studying them, and certain shortcomings in work done up to this time, it would seem to be the clear duty of the American people, in the interests of scientific knowledge and social reform, to begin a broad and systematic study of the history and condition of the American Negroes. The scope and method of this study, however, needs to be generally agreed upon beforehand in its main

outlines, not to hinder the freedom of individual students, but to systematize and unify effort so as to cover the wide field of investigation.

The scope of any social study is first of all limited by the general attitude of public opinion toward truth and truth-seeking. If in regard to any social problem there is for any reason a persistent refusal on the part of the people to allow the truth to be known, then manifestly that problem cannot be studied. Undoubtedly much of the unsatisfactory work already done with regard to the Negro is due to this cause; the intense feeling that preceded and followed the war made a calm balanced research next to impossible. Even to-day there are certain phases of this question which we cannot hope to be allowed to study dispassionately and thoroughly, and these phases, too, are naturally those uppermost in the public mind. For instance, it is extremely doubtful if any satisfactory study of Negro crime and lynching can be made for a generation or more, in the present condition of the public mind, which renders it almost impossible to get at the facts and real conditions. On the other hand, public opinion has in the last decade become sufficiently liberal to open a broad field of investigation to students, and here lies the chance for effective work.

The right to enter this field undisturbed and untrammelled will depend largely on the attitude of science itself. Students must be careful to insist that science as such—be it physics, chemistry, psychology, or sociology—has but one simple aim: the discovery of truth. Its results lie open for the use of all men—merchants, physicians, men of letters, and philanthropists, but the aim of science itself is simple truth. Any attempt to give it a double aim, to make social reform the immediate instead of the mediate object of a search for truth, will inevitably tend to defeat both objects. The frequent alliance of sociological research with various panaceas and particular schemes of reform, has

resulted in closely connecting social investigation with a good deal of groundless assumption and humbug in the popular mind. There will be at first some difficulty in bringing the Southern people, both black and white, to conceive of an earnest, careful study of the Negro problem which has not back of it some scheme of race amalgamation, political jobbery, or deportation to Africa. The new study of the American Negro must avoid such misapprehensions from the outset, by insisting that historical and statistical research has but one object, the ascertainment of the facts as to the social forces and conditions of one-eighth of the inhabitants of the land. Only by such rigid adherence to the true object of the scholar, can statesmen and philanthropists of all shades of belief be put into possession of a reliable body of truth which may guide their efforts to the best and largest success.

In the next place, a study of the Negro, like the study of any subject, must start out with certain generally admitted postulates. We must admit, for instance, that the field of study is large and varying, and that what is true of the Negro in Massachusetts is not necessarily true of the Negro in Louisiana; that what was true of the Negro in 1850 was not necessarily true in 1750; and that there are many distinct social problems affecting the Negro. Finally, if we would rally to this common ground of scientific inquiry all partisans and advocates, we must explicitly admit what all implicitly postulate—namely, that the Negro is a member of the human race, and as one who, in the light of history and experience, is capable to a degree of improvement and culture, is entitled to have his interests considered according to his numbers in all conclusions as to the common weal.

With these preliminary considerations we may say that the study of the Negro falls naturally into two categories, which though difficult to separate in practice, must for the sake of logical clearness, be kept distinct. They are (a)

the study of the Negro as a social group, (b) the study of his peculiar social environment.

The study of the Negro as a social group may be, for convenience, divided into four not exactly logical but seemingly most practicable divisions, viz:

1. Historical study,
2. Statistical investigation.
3. Anthropological measurement.
4. Sociological interpretation.

The material at hand for historical research is rich and abundant; there are the colonial statutes and records, the partially accessible archives of Great Britain, France and Spain, the collections of historical societies, the vast number of executive and congressional reports and documents, the state statutes, reports and publications, the reports of institutions and societies, the personal narratives and opinions of various observers and the periodical press covering nearly three centuries. From these sources can be gathered much new information upon the economic and social development of the Negro, upon the rise and decline of the slave-trade, the character, distribution and state of culture of the Africans, the evolution of the slave codes as expressing the life of the South, the rise of such peculiar expressions of Negro social history, as the Negro church, the economics of plantation life, the possession of private property by slaves, and the history of the oft-forgotten class of free Negroes. Such historical research must be subdivided in space and limited in time by the nature of the subject, the history of the different colonies and groups being followed and compared, the different periods of development receiving special study, and the whole subject being reviewed from different aspects.

The collection of statistics should be carried on with increased care and thoroughness. It is no credit to a great modern nation that so much well-grounded doubt can be thrown on our present knowledge of the simple matters of

number, age, sex and conjugal condition in regard to our Negro population. General statistical investigations should avoid seeking to tabulate more intricate social conditions than the ones indicated. The concrete social status of the Negro can only be ascertained by intensive studies carried on in definitely limited localities, by competent investigators, in accordance with one general plan. Statistical study by groups is apt to be more accurately done and more easily accomplished, and able to secure more competent and responsible agents than any general census. General averages in so complicated a subject are apt to be dangerously misleading. This study should seek to ascertain by the most approved methods of social measurement the size and condition of families, the occupations and wages, the illiteracy of adults and education of children, the standard of living, the character of the dwellings, the property owned and rents paid, and the character of the organized group life. Such investigations should be extended until they cover the typical group life of Negroes in all sections of the land and should be so repeated from time to time in the same localities and with the same methods, as to be a measure of social development.

The third division of study is anthropological measurement, and it includes a scientific study of the Negro body. The most obvious peculiarity of the Negro—a peculiarity which is a large element in many of the problems affecting him—is his physical unlikeness to the people with whom he has been brought into contact. This difference is so striking that it has become the basis of a mass of theory, assumption and suggestion which is deep-rooted and yet rests on the flimsiest basis of scientific fact. That there are differences between the white and black races is certain, but just what those differences are is known to none with an approach to accuracy. Yet here in America is the most remarkable opportunity ever offered of studying these differences, of noting influences of climate and physical environment, and

particularly of studying the effect of amalgamating two of the most diverse races in the world—another subject which rests under a cloud of ignorance.

The fourth division of this investigation is sociological interpretation; it should include the arrangement and interpretation of historical and statistical matter in the light of the experience of other nations and other ages; it should aim to study those finer manifestations of social life which history can but mention and which statistics can not count, such as the expression of Negro life as found in their hundred newspapers, their considerable literature, their music and folklore and their germ of esthetic life—in fine, in all the movements and customs among them that manifest the existence of a distinct social mind.

The second category of studies of the Negro has to do with his peculiar social environment. It will be difficult, as has been intimated, to separate a study of the group from a study of the environment, and yet the group action and the reaction of the surroundings must be kept clearly distinct if we expect to comprehend the Negro problems. The study of the environment may be carried on at the same time with a study of the group, only the two sets of forces must receive distinct measurement.

In such a field of inquiry it will be found difficult to do more than subdivide inquiry in time and space. The attempt should be made to isolate and study the tangible phenomena of Negro prejudice in all possible cases; its effect on the Negro's physical development, on his mental acquisitiveness, on his moral and social condition, as manifested in economic life, in legal sanctions and in crime and lawlessness. So, too, the influence of that same prejudice on American life and character would explain the otherwise inexplicable changes through which Negro prejudice has passed.

The plan of study thus sketched is, without doubt, long, difficult and costly, and yet is not more than commensurable

with the size and importance of the subject with which it is to deal. It will take years and decades to carry out such a plan, with the barest measure of success, and yet there can be no doubt but that this plan or something similar to it, points to the quickest path toward the ultimate solution of the present difficulties.

6. THE PROPER AGENTS FOR THIS WORK.

In conclusion it will not be out of place to suggest the agencies which seem best fitted to carry out a work of this magnitude. There will, without doubt, always be room for the individual working alone as he wills; if, however, we wish to cover the field systematically, and in reasonable time, only organized and concerted efforts will avail; and the requisite means, skill and preparation for such work can be furnished by two agencies alone: the government and the university.

For simple, definite inquiries carried out periodically on a broad scale we should depend on the national and state governments. The decennial census properly organized under civil service rules should be the greatest single agency for collecting general information as to the Negro. If, however, the present Congress cannot be induced to organize a census bureau under proper Civil Service rules, and in accordance with the best expert advice, we must continue for many years more to depend on clumsy and ignorant methods of measurement in matters demanding accuracy and trained technique. It is possible also for the different national bureaus and for the state governments to study certain aspects of the Negro question over wide areas. A conspicuous example of this is the valuable educational statistics collected by Commissioner Harris, and the series of economic studies just instituted by the Bureau of Labor.

On the whole it may be laid down as axiomatic that government activity in the study of this problem should confine

itself mainly to the ascertainment of simple facts covering a broad field. For the study of these social problems in their more complicated aspects, where the desideratum is intensive study, by trained minds, according to the best methods, the only competent agency is the university. Indeed, in no better way could the American university repay the unusual munificence of its benefactors than by placing before the nation a body of scientific truth in the light of which they could solve some of their most vexing social problems.

It is to the credit of the University of Pennsylvania that she has been the first to recognize her duty in this respect, and in so far as restricted means and opportunity allowed, has attempted to study the Negro problems in a single definite locality. This work needs to be extended to other groups, and carried out with larger system; and here it would seem is the opportunity of the Southern Negro college. We hear much of higher Negro education, and yet all candid people know there does not exist to-day in the centre of Negro population a single first-class fully equipped institution devoted to the higher education of Negroes; not more than three Negro institutions in the South deserve the name of *college* at all; and yet what is a Negro college but a vast college settlement for the study of a particular set of peculiarly baffling problems? What more effective or suitable agency could be found in which to focus the scientific efforts of the great universities of the North and East, than an institution situated in the very heart of these social problems, and made the centre of careful historical and statistical research? Without doubt the first effective step toward the solving of the Negro question will be the endowment of a Negro college which is not merely a teaching body, but a centre of sociological research, in close connection and co-operation with Harvard, Columbia, Johns Hopkins and the University of Pennsylvania.

In this direction the Negro conferences of Tuskegee and Hampton are tending; and there is already inaugurated an

actual beginning of work at Atlanta University. In 1896 this university brought into correspondence about one hundred Southern college-bred men and laid before them a plan of systematic investigation into certain problems of Negro city life, as, for instance, family conditions, dwellings, rents, ownership of homes, occupations, earnings, disease and death-rates. Each investigator took one or more small groups to study, and in this way fifty-nine groups, aggregating 5000 people in various parts of the country, were studied, and the results have been published by the United States Bureau of Labor. Such purely scientific work, done with an eye single to ascertaining true conditions, marks an era in our conception of the place of the Negro college, and it is certainly to be desired that Atlanta University may be enabled to continue this work as she proposes to do.

Finally the necessity must again be emphasized of keeping clearly before students the object of all science, amid the turmoil and intense feeling that clouds the discussion of a burning social question. We live in a day when in spite of the brilliant accomplishments of a remarkable century, there is current much flippant criticism of scientific work; when the truth-seeker is too often pictured as devoid of human sympathy, and careless of human ideals. We are still prone in spite of all our culture to sneer at the heroism of the laboratory while we cheer the swagger of the street broil. At such a time true lovers of humanity can only hold higher the pure ideals of science, and continue to insist that if we would solve a problem we must study it, and that there is but one coward on earth, and that is the coward that dare not know.

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ADMINISTRATIVE CENTRALIZATION AND DECENTRALIZATION IN FRANCE.

In no part of the world has the question of administrative centralization assumed such importance as in France. Public discussion of the subject has been almost continuous since the Revolution. It is furthermore characteristic of the French tendency toward abstract political theories that until recently this discussion touched only upon the more general and theoretical aspects of the question. In the last few years, however, the literature published on this subject has taken a more practical turn and attention has been directed toward the causes and sources of administrative centralization. It is the object of this paper to trace briefly these causes as well as to show the present tendencies in French administrative development.

The notion that centralization in France dates from the Revolution, or from Napoleon is far from correct. The name *généralité*, or *province*, it is true was changed to *département* during the Revolution. The territorial basis of these administrative districts was also changed in order to obliterate all recollections of the *ancien régime*, while the *intendant* who had ruled over the *généralité* now became the *préfet* with similar powers over the department. But neither in the real character of the organization, nor in the distribution of power between the central and local authorities, did any permanent important change from the pre-Revolutionary organization take place. Centralization had arisen long before the Revolution.

What then was the origin of this peculiar method of organization? To this it must be answered that centralization in France dates from the formation of the French

nation. It would be even more correct to reverse the order of the statement and say that France as a nation was created by the concentration of her political and administrative organization. A glance at the map of Europe as late as the fifteenth century, or a mere mention of the names of the French provinces at that time, will make this clear at once. After the dissolution of Charlemagne's Empire, what is now France was merely a heterogeneous mass composed of small principalities, many of them owing not even a nominal allegiance to the crown. Beginning with the latter half of the twelfth century came that tremendous struggle for supremacy between king and nobles which lasted over five hundred years. The different stages in the conflict and the progress of the central or local powers respectively are seen in the formation of the Council of Peers, the Pragmatic Sanction, the establishment of royal courts of justice, the revival of imperial traditions by the *légistes* or students of the Roman law, the civil war with the Protestants, the Fronde, the financial ruin of the bourgs, the resulting interference of the crown in municipal affairs and the abolition of the provincial assemblies or *états provinciaux*. Beginning principally with Philippe Auguste and ending with Louis XIV. we find a strong, consistent and almost continuous policy of administrative concentration pursued by the French monarchs and their ministers, until finally France was consolidated into a homogeneous *état unitaire*. That this consolidation was the result of conscious racial unity, of natural affinity or community of economic interest (at that time), surely no one will care to maintain. The territory acquired by conquest or marriage had to be retained, the population absorbed and controlled, the royal authority must be extended over the new, and strengthened in the old parts of the kingdom.

But in what could the extension of royal authority consist? Certainly not in a mere declaration by the nobles of their submission to the royal will but rather in the extension

of the machinery of royal administration and in the subordination of the local organization to the central authorities. That is precisely what did occur. The internal history of France from the beginning of the thirteenth century on is largely a record of disputes as to whether the king or a particular baron was entitled to exercise a certain administrative power, to appoint to a certain judicial office, or as to whether the ordinances of a certain town must be approved by the crown before they were valid, etc.

Little by little the systematic policy of the king began to tell; the nobles, with some notable exceptions, as in the war of the Fronde, failed to present a united front, they were reduced to subjection one at a time and became a social rather than a political power. The cause of feudalism was lost. The people of Languedoc and of Languedoïl, the Norman and the Aquitanian still retained, in part, their distinctive traits, their peculiar laws and customs. But the constantly increasing power of the king, the growing interference of the royal commissioners sent out from Paris to inspect and control the various local administrative bodies, even the burden of royal taxation itself, all tended to remind the inhabitants of the provinces that they owed allegiance to the king. Gradually the itinerant royal commissioner becomes a more or less permanent official with a fixed seat of activity. Under Richelieu the *commissaire départi dans les provinces* becomes the *intendant* whose functions are to direct the entire administration of the *généralité* according to instructions received from Paris. But the *intendant* represents in no sense the local or provincial government in the eyes of the people. His strongest efforts are directed toward the destruction of local self-government, and when, finally, these efforts are successful and the local *états provinciaux* are no longer convoked, there then remains no further obstacle to the royal will. Centralization has produced absolutism, and absolutism moulds the unity of the nation. This in brief is the pre-Revolutionary

history of administrative centralization and of its influence on the growth of the French nation.

When the Revolution came, a demand was at once made to revive the old provincial estates and to restore some degree of autonomy to the communes and localities. Local control of municipal police, of the amount and distribution of municipal taxation, free election of municipal officials, local jurisdiction of unimportant civil suits, etc., were all reasonably claimed by the local bodies as being within the proper field of their activity. These demands were granted by the Constituent Assembly in 1789, and the result was an administrative experiment which though short-lived was yet so interesting as to deserve a brief examination in passing. The law of December 14, 1789, granted to the communes or municipalities almost entire independence in matters affecting the communal budget, local taxation and loans and the establishment and administration of communal institutions as above mentioned. Central control was almost entirely abolished. The newly created "department" was endowed with relatively less power than the commune, but with a like degree of freedom from central control. Among the powers of the departmental organization were the apportionment of direct taxes among the municipalities, the surveillance of the collection of taxes, regulation of vagabondage and begging, supervision of hospitals, care and management of funds for the encouragement of agriculture and industry, public education, maintenance of the main roads, service of the militia, etc. These functions of the departments and communes respectively do not seem to an American at the present day to be unusually or excessively wide in their scope, but the change was sufficiently radical and violent in France at that time to insure its complete failure.

In considering this law, which was the most radical of all attempts at decentralization ever made in France,

one student of French administrative history, Monnet, has very properly called attention to the condition of political life in the various local bodies and particularly in the municipalities at that time, as well as to the peculiar character and extent of the law itself. Aside from the natural confusion and demoralization which the Revolution was constantly causing in local and communal administration, there were other important reasons for the failure of this measure. The communes had been unaccustomed to managing their own affairs under the régime of centralization previously existing. Again the more influential and talented men capable of taking part in the local administration had been called to Paris in the Convention or attracted thither by the political agitation, and, finally, those called on to conduct the new municipal organization were not as a rule experienced or capable men.

Lack of governmental experience in the stormy and turbulent period of the Revolution must alone have caused failure, but still another obstruction prevented the success of the new system, viz., the law of 1789 contained within itself the elements of failure. In their zeal to secure a decentralized organization the members of the Constituent Assembly had absolutely neglected all effective means of central control over the local assemblies and officials. The communes were well-nigh cut off from the central government. They were placed in such a position that although nominally subject to the supervision of the central authorities, they were in reality independent. The chief executive appointed only the ministers, all other important offices were filled by popular election. Now in order to prevent chaos in any system of administrative organization, one of two general methods of central control is necessary: either there must exist, as in America, a minute regulation of official duties prescribed by the legislature and a corresponding enforcement of these regulations by the judiciary or, as in most European countries, official

duties must be constantly regulated and defined by means of an administrative control exercised by the executive. The law of 1789 failed to provide either of these methods of control. As a consequence the local officials, affected by the feverish excitement of the times, were moved to secure the endorsement of their local constituents at all hazards rather than to obey the directions of the central government where the two came in conflict. For these causes the French administration, both local and national, soon after the passage of the law of 1789 fell into a state of indescribable anarchy and chaos.

Viewed in the light of this administrative disintegration it is not difficult to understand that the entire nation, weary of misrule and confusion, should gladly entrust supreme and dictatorial power to the hands of the directorate. In order to re-establish a government worthy the name it was necessary to put an end, once for all, to local defiance of national authority. Hence the Constitution of the Year III. and the administrative laws following. These measures simply revived the centralization of the *ancien régime* under a panoply of new names, and with the accompaniment of the modern American spoils system. To such a degree was this revival of the old organization with unique additions carried that the directorate at the height of its power controlled ministry, departments and communes by its actually exercised power of appointment. The saying that "Paris is the head and heart of France" became literally true. That such a colossal "machine," legalized by the constitution and supported by centuries of habit, should become the instrument of tyranny was but natural. It was only the inherent weakness in the composition of the central government itself and the advent of Napoleon that saved France from a still longer period of the same misrule. The Napoleonic centralization which followed the adoption of the Constitution of the Year VIII. and of the imperial constitution, contained nearly all the obnoxious elements of the

organization under the directorate, with this one important difference, that the administrative machinery of the empire was highly efficient and carried out to their smallest details the magnificent projects of the emperor. This fact alone led France to condone or at least to tolerate the imperfections of the new system.

The political changes of this time illustrate very clearly one aspect of the concentration of administrative power which is usually overlooked, viz., the ever present possibility of a *coup d'état* or the establishment of a dictatorship which is latent in every highly centralized organization. In no country but France could such a tyrannical influence be exerted by the capital over the rest of the land as was shown in the various and arbitrary changes of the Revolution. In no state with a less centralized organization could we find such a series of rapid shiftings of power and successful revolts as were developed in the Revolution of 1789, the establishment of the Directorate, the *coup d'état* of the first Napoleon, the Restoration, the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848, the second *coup d'état*, the paralysis of the entire country by the German occupation of the capital in 1871, and finally in the singular phenomenon presented by the rise of Boulangism. This remarkable succession of events is not a coincidence. The strength, and at the same time the weakness of France, is at the centre, and he who gains the capital has the entire state machinery in his power. Military concentration and the facility of rapid mobilization are often of primary importance, particularly in a military state, but will it be for a moment contended that a centralization of the entire *civil* administration is at all necessary to secure military concentration? Is it necessary in order that "the nation should rise in war as one man" for one man or one city to control the whole nation in all matters civil and military and at all times? Here then the astonishing facility, with which one man or body of men has so often controlled France to her sorrow finds at least

a partial explanation. Much in French national life that has been ascribed to the fickle and volatile character of the people is attributable to no such characteristic, but rather to the influence of an unfortunate administrative organization inherited from the *ancien régime*.

A second and closely allied consequence of this method of organization is seen in its effects on the political training and activity of the people. It is certainly safe to say that no people, however gifted with political genius, can, at a moment's notice, take up the reins of government with safety if they have for centuries been deprived of all opportunity to take part in the government. Similarly we may assume that, other things being equal, that nation will govern itself best which has had the most experience and practice in so doing. But it is evident that as an administrative organization is centralized the activity of the local bodies must be proportionally diminished. Now since the field of local administration is the training-school par excellence of the citizen, it results that a centralized organization, if it does not prevent, at least provides no adequate opportunity for the political education of the people. The consequences of this lack of political training must be unfavorable to good government in any modern country, but they are intensely aggravated in cases where, as in France, state action has pervaded nearly all spheres of human activity. In such countries, since the government is called on to perform so much, it should be all the more subject to the guidance of an enlightened and experienced popular control. In other words the evils of paternalism in France have been greatly multiplied by the existence of such a centralized administrative organization. Since the administrative affairs of the nation are not controlled by an active participation of the people, a complex administrative machine has arisen which seeks to direct public affairs, great and small, from a single centre, but which is itself above and beyond the immediate control of the people.

A third evil of the French system, and one to which considerable attention has already been directed in France, is seen in the intellectual, industrial and commercial concentration produced. This is one of the most important and most evident of all the ill effects traceable to governmental concentration. The knowledge of this fact has done much to mould public opinion in the departments toward a policy of decentralization.

The consequences of centralization thus far outlined have been largely of a general political and social nature. Other disadvantages there are which affect more directly the capability and practical efficiency of the administration itself. It is admitted by prominent French government officials and members of the Chamber that a centralized organization works, under ordinary circumstances, with much less rapidity than one in which comparative freedom is allowed to the local bodies. The transmission to the central authorities of matters which could easily be dispatched in the localities, the necessity of a decision by the heavily burdened central organs and the transmission of this decision again to the locality in which the matter originated, the endless approval or disapproval of local acts by the prefect or even in some instances by the president at Paris, and the immense number of affairs which are acted on in a purely formal and perfunctory way, are all features of this method of organization. A certain degree of cumbersome and tedious awkwardness is therefore attached to all functions of local government in France.

There remain two other important defects charged to the existing system in France which must be passed over with mere mention, viz., extravagance and peculiar liability to corruption. Expenses are increased, it is declared, by the additional officials necessary to the maintenance of that control and supervision over the local bodies which forms an essential feature of this system. A considerably larger number of recorders, accountants and clerks is made

necessary by the additional bookkeeping, and, it is claimed, strict economy is not exercised in the central offices to the same degree as in the local bodies, where each item of expenditure is more distinctly felt.

If then such have confessedly been the results of governmental centralization, it will be asked, can it be true that a whole nation has been so deceived or so unmindful of its welfare as to make no effort to change these conditions? The contrary is true. France has been struggling for almost a century to shake off the remnants of the old system and to develop a new organization. At the present moment a commission composed of men familiar with all the various branches of the administrative service is engaged on a plan of reorganization. Before entering on the consideration of this final stage of the development it will be necessary to outline briefly the more important attempts to secure a decentralized system since the Revolution.

The law of 28 *Pluviôse*, year VIII., retained the Revolutionary division of the country into departments rather than provinces. Proceeding upon the principle that "action is the function of one person, deliberation, that of many," the law of that year established, or rather confirmed certain important features which had been introduced largely by preceding laws, and which have remained to the present day. At the head of the department, the *arrondissement* and the municipality or commune was placed a direct agent of the central government, the *préfet*, the *sous-préfet* and the *maire*, respectively, each appointed by the central authorities. The local agents were charged with the active administrative functions of their respective districts, whereas the deliberative powers were entrusted to collective bodies, boards or councils.*

Naturally the councils, or boards, came to be considered as representing local interests, while the *maire*, *sous-préfet*,

* The *conseil général* in the department, the *conseil d'arrondissement* in the *arrondissement* and the *conseil municipal* in the commune.

and *préfet*, respectively, occupied a double position, first, as the active executive heads of their administrations, and therefore as agents of the respective councils, for the transaction of purely local matters, and, second, as direct agents of the central government. The keynote of this entire system is unity. Every feature of the tremendous work of symmetrical beauty was in a measure justified by the events which preceded or accompanied it. The presence of an agent of the central government at the head of each administrative division and subdivision, as well as the concentration in his hands of all active executive power, was a direct consequence of the difficulties experienced during the civil war of *la Vendée* and of the confusion and anarchy into which local affairs had been brought by the independence of the councils and boards. Again the anxiety to avoid sectional discords led, as before mentioned, to a complete break with the past in the substitution of departmental for the old and familiar provincial divisions of the country, so that even the names of the ancient provinces were avoided. The choice of the members of local councils was not at first made by popular election, but was placed in the appointment of the central government in order to secure the absolute dependence of these local bodies upon the central authorities. That a people which, but ten years before, had gone to so much trouble to enumerate in detail the abstract rights of man, should now declare itself incompetent to elect even the councillors of the village commune is to be accounted for on the ground that the ideal now sought was not liberty but authority.

With the restoration of the Bourbons, little or nothing was changed. Public opinion and the pacific policy of the king led to the consideration of a scheme of internal reform and to the law of 1821, but this measure was of no great practical importance. The Revolution of 1830 brought with it a series of changes looking toward the extension of the principle of popular election and the laws of 1831, '33, '37

and '38 placed the choice of members of the local councils in the hands of the people. The legislation of the years named also extended the powers of the local councils to some slight degree, the law of 1837 relating to the communes and that of 1838 to the departments. It was also at this time that the department, which had originally been a mere administrative subdivision, began to assume a more corporate character, thus adding to the tendency toward decentralization. Under the first empire, by reason of the unusual expenditures of the central government, it was sought to shift some of the financial burdens of the latter to the departments, and to this end the administration of certain roads was transferred to departmental control. Subsequently, the departmental finances becoming more important, a regular departmental budget arose. Beside the usual and prescribed departmental taxes the right of that organization to acquire and hold property was finally recognized and, in this way, from a mere territorial division, the department became a more or less organic body, with independent resources and taxation. The Revolution of 1848 produced no important administrative changes beyond an extension of the popular suffrage in local elections. In 1852 began a series of transformations which marked definitely the accession of a new emperor. Article 57 of the new constitution replaced the appointment of the *maires* of communes in the hands of the Chief Executive of the Republic, and this provision was confirmed by section 7 of the law of July 7, 1852, and section 2 of the law of May 5, 1855. Further, the laws named extended the appointing power of the executive to include the chairmen, vice-chairmen and secretaries of the departmental councils. The corresponding officers in the council of the *arrondissement* were appointed by the prefect, who was, as we have seen, merely an instrument or agent of the central government. The executive was also given the power to dissolve these local councils under certain circumstances. This legislation.

was, in short, essentially centralizing in its tendency. It possessed much the same significance as the law of the Year VIII., in that both marked the substitution of a dictatorship for political anarchy.

With these reactionary laws of the second empire the tendency toward decentralization was, for the moment, checked. The entire period from the restoration of the Bourbons to the middle of the reign of Napoleon III., had in fact witnessed but little progress in this regard. The grounds for this conservatism are not difficult to discover. Administrative centralization, as we have seen, meant the subjection of the entire country to a central point, the concentration and consolidation of power in the hands of a few officials at the capital. Therefore just as in America during this same period, each successive strict-constructionist party on securing the reins of power was *ipso facto* converted to a platform of liberal construction, so in France each faction, once in control, saw itself forced to use and preserve its power by all possible means. Therefore each successive faction when in power refused to destroy that peculiar administrative organization which offered to the dominant party an effective means of retaining power. For this reason no important measure of decentralization found a place in the legislation of France until toward the close of the Second Empire. Each faction feared to loosen its hold upon the administrative machinery of the country lest it should thereby lose its political ascendancy. The first administrative change under Louis Napoleon was made, we have seen, in the direction of centralization. But as the glittering pageantry of the Second Empire began to lose its novelty for the Parisians, and as the constantly increasing financial burdens gave added strength to the opposition party, it became evident that some means of allaying the growing discontent must be found. The foreign wars waged during this reign were also largely brought on by the causes named, but these wars were not sufficient to distract public

attention from the internal condition of the country. Finally, in 1863, several men, prominent in various walks of life, who were met together in Nancy for informal discussion of social and political matters, became interested in the various aspects of the question of administrative decentralization. They published the result of their discussions in a pamphlet which has since then been known as the "*Manifeste de Nancy*."

The essential points of reform proposed by this manifesto were:

1. Strengthen the commune,
2. Revive the canton,*
3. Abolish the arrondissement,
4. Emancipate the department from the strict central control to which it had been subjected,
5. Abolish administrative courts and transfer their jurisdiction to the ordinary courts.

These simple demands, comprehensible to all and based on sound reasoning, obtained such a wide circulation throughout the country that they threatened to become the platform of a strong political party. The "*Manifeste de Nancy*" provoked a deluge of pamphlets on the subject, the liberal tendencies of the moment identified themselves with the new movement, and in 1869 there followed a Congress at Lyons and another manifesto. The government saw itself forced to make some definite concessions to the new current of public opinion, and in February, 1870, a commission of decentralization composed of forty-seven members was appointed. This commission was charged with a study of the entire question and the elaboration of a scheme of reorganization. At the outbreak of the war with Prussia four important bills on the organization of the departmental councils, of the cantonal councils, the communal organization and the prefectoral councils had been prepared. The

* The canton was an administrative subdivision larger in size than the commune. It was claimed that the canton formed a much more natural basis for an administrative unit than the arrondissement.

war interrupted this as it did all other plans for internal improvement. But it is deeply significant of the importance attached to this question that immediately after the suppression of the Commune at Paris and the meeting of the National Assembly, the subject of administrative organization was again taken up and, in the law of August, 1871, the first of what was intended as a series of measures looking toward decentralization was passed. This law, the main provisions of which are still in force, introduced some new features in the departmental organization. The powers of the departmental councils were extended, their independence slightly increased, the prefectural council was given the functions of an administrative court, and a departmental commission composed of non-professional members elected in the department, was established in order to secure a local control over the administrative acts of the prefect. This was a modification of one of the suggestions embodied in the Manifesto of Nancy. Without attempting to examine in detail the provisions of this law it may nevertheless be said that they fell far short of securing any important or substantial decentralization of administrative power. All action on administrative and financial matters of even moderate importance required the approval of the central authorities. The prefect, despite the influence of the departmental commission, still continued to exercise a predominant influence in departmental administration and was still the mere instrument of the central government. No further change of importance was made until thirteen years later, when the law of April 5, 1884, was passed.

As the law of 1871 related to the department, so that of 1884 attempted to reorganize the commune. The list of affairs in which the communal council possessed comparative independence was slightly enlarged and a better co-ordination of the powers of the mayor and the communal council was effected. Nevertheless, the more important points of central control, especially in financial matters and the *tutelle*

administrative or guardianship of the commune exercised by the prefect and sub-prefect were not essentially changed. In short the law of 1884, while greatly improving the position of the commune in respect of its internal organization, by no means abolished the obnoxious elements of habitual interference on the part of the prefect. It is further characteristic of the laws of 1871 and 1884 that they typify in a most interesting way the European methods of legislation on administrative subjects in that they tend to codify as completely as practicable the law of departmental and communal administration and to provide a uniform basis for all local bodies of a certain kind throughout the entire land. The last of the laws on this subject was that of March 27, 1890, which provided for the formation of special associations or unions of communes for various purposes. Among the objects for which such *syndicats de communes* may be formed are the establishment of a common system of public charities, a hospital, a school, local roads, a museum, library, etc. This provision is evidently the result of somewhat similar conditions to those which in England produced the union of parishes for the support of a workhouse.

In leaving this part of the subject we should note that the organization of the commune, or of the administrative unit which shall supplant the commune, is the crucial point in the entire question of decentralization. The French commune of to-day is too small, it is not capable of an independent organization and existence. It therefore appears that, if France is to secure a decentralized organization, there must first be formed some larger administrative unit which will also be distinctly local in character.* For this reason it has been proposed to revive the canton, which includes several communes, but which at the present time is only used as an electoral and military recruiting district and as the territory

* This is shown to be the case in the brochure "*La Décentralisation*" by M. Deschanel, Paris, 1895. The author states that of 36,000 French communes 27,400 have not more than 1,000 inhabitants and 17,000 have not more than 500 inhabitants each.

of the justice of the peace. It seems highly probable therefore that either the canton or the union of communes will play a highly important part in the solution of the question of decentralization.

Since 1890 there has been a growing movement of public opinion in favor of decentralization which bids fair to bring about more important measures of this nature than any that have gone before. In December, 1894, the Prime Minister, M. Dupuy, in a speech before the chamber gave a definite promise that the question of administrative decentralization should be thoroughly investigated and brought to a final solution. In the early part of the year 1895, a National League of Decentralization was formed at Paris with the avowed object of bringing the matter before the public. After the fall of the Dupuy ministry and the advent of M. Ribot the subject was again taken up and the decree of February 11, 1895, was the result. The decree mentioned provides for the appointment of a commission composed of prominent men in the various professions for the purpose of studying the means best suited to secure further decentralization as well as a simplification of the administrative service. The prime minister is a member ex-officio and directs the meetings of the commission, while the other members are senators, deputies, high administrative officials from the central offices, prefects, mayors, members of the academy, etc., numbering in all about seventy. The deliberations of the commission have, it is true, merely an advisory character, yet the conclusions reached are of the greatest significance and interest to the entire world of constitutionally governed nations.

The appointment of this commission not only shows that France has clearly recognized the disadvantages of a poorly balanced system of local government, but it also marks a definite recognition of the predominant importance of administrative organization at the present day. The attention of all the more progressive peoples in the last

twenty-five years has been turned from constitutional theories to questions of administration. It is being admitted on all sides that mere questions of form are of comparatively limited importance, and that the most sublimely worded constitution, if not animated and invigorated by an active and efficient administration, is but sounding brass. The French commission suffers, it is true, from its dependence on the will of the prime minister. Without his consent the commission may not convene, and its operations are thus likely to be suspended at any time by the political exigencies of the dominant party. In spite of this weakness in its organization, however, the commission has already extended its studies over a wide field of both foreign and French administrative questions in connection with the main topic. It has also made valuable suggestions which have in important instances been embodied in executive decrees and ordinances. But most important of all from the standpoint of administrative science, the appointment of such a body has resulted in interesting a number of thoughtful and intelligent men in this question and thus enabled the whole matter to be placed before the public in a clear and unmistakable light. This, too, is the cause of the sudden revival of pamphlet literature on the subject, in which various public men, members of the commission and others, have expressed their views.

The recommendations of the commission are especially worthy of note. The financial relations of the communes and departments have been given particular attention and a diminution of central control and interference recommended. A similar transfer of power from the central to the local offices in the collection of indirect taxes has been recommended and already acted upon by the executive authority. An extension of the powers of the prefect in order to unburden the central ministries has also been suggested, and, similarly in pursuance of recommendations made by the commission the management of post and telegraph stations

has been decentralized in important particulars. A noticeable characteristic of the work of the commission, and one which seems to mark the beginning of a new era in French political development, is the almost entire absence of abstract theorizing and declamatory rhetoric in the reports of the commission and the eminently practical character of the suggestions made. The secretary of the commission has declared it to be the object of that body to undertake no great schemes of complete reorganization which would necessitate sweeping changes throughout the entire service and which would therefore have scant opportunity of adoption by the chambers. The avowed object of the commission is rather to examine the national administration, ministry by ministry, bureau by bureau, one branch at a time, suggesting at each point such changes as are shown by experience to be warranted. It is largely by reason of the steadfast pursuance of this policy as well as the character of the men composing the commission that the results obtained have already proved to be of such great value and importance, bidding fair to exercise a profound influence on the political future of the French.

Such have been the consequences of the popular movement which began in the later years of the Second Empire and which seems likely to grow still stronger until the local organization of France is freed from its present dependence and weakness. If the entire trend of this development were to be summed up in a few words, it might be said that the question of administrative centralization is largely coincident with French history. The minute division of the empire subsequent to Charlemagne's death had destroyed the imperial power. This tendency to disintegration was first seriously combated by Philippe Auguste and his successors, and the long conflict which then ensued gradually turned in favor of the king. The various stages of this victory were not the causes but rather the results of corresponding steps in the centralization of the administrative

organization. The royal power was extended by reducing the local administrative bodies to mere agents of the royal will. National unity was the consequence of the absolute monarchy, but absolutism was only established and maintained by means of centralization. National unity once securely established, however, the necessity for a highly concentrated administrative organization had ceased, while the transformation from a monarchical to a republican form of government made it imperative that the people should enjoy the opportunity for more frequent and continuous political training and activity. A carefully devised system of local self-government was, then, a necessity. But this was neglected, and as a consequence the existing local bodies are now found to be on the one hand too small in size to perform properly the important functions which in other countries are assigned to them while, on the other, they are superintended to death by the constant surveillance and interference of agents of the central government. The French people are thus left without interesting or adequate opportunities of political education. The main question whose solution is now being attempted in France is therefore an exceedingly simple one, but none the less difficult. It consists first, in preserving that moderate central control which has been found so necessary even in England, and second, in restoring the local organization to that position of strength and vigor which is so necessary to the political health of a great republic.

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THE RELATION OF POSTAL SAVINGS BANKS TO COMMERCIAL BANKS.

The postal savings scheme appeals to the interest of both the philanthropist and the scientific economist. It promises a higher plane of morality and respectability, a widespread self-mastery and self-restraint, a subordination of bestial and sensual desires and a corresponding development of æsthetic cravings. The scheme also suggests most interesting speculations as to its probable effects upon the distribution of wealth, the extent to which it will increase the capacity of the wage-earning class to compel advances in the wage scale or to resist reductions in wages. It suggests interesting problems as to the possible modifications it may produce in the consumption of goods and the consequent reaction upon production. It also opens up a very suggestive field of inquiry as to its probable or possible effects upon commercial banking institutions.

The subject of savings, has generally been treated by philanthropists, and where it has been dealt with by men who are usually judicially minded, the scientific temper has been abandoned. The fascinations of a postal savings scheme are so irresistible that those who have essayed to treat the subject seem invariably to have been betrayed into using the arts of the propagandist. This is particularly noticeable in the efforts to allay hostility on the part of the banking fraternity. We are told time and again that it appeals to a constituency which it is not profitable for the banks to cultivate. A recent article suggests, in connection with the extension of the cheque system in Austria, that it promises to relieve the banks of the "small accounts," as if the banks would be benefited. Even Dr. Shaw has given currency

to the idea that in the investment of the funds of the savings banks it has been found expedient to limit them to public securities. In speaking of the municipal system of Germany, he says: "Their funds are invested, as a rule, in imperial, national, or municipal interest-bearing securities."* The statement is far from the fact. In Saxony the savings banks have gone farther toward reaching the people than in any of the greater states of the empire. The report for 1893 shows that 339,839,299 marks of savings deposits were invested in real estate mortgage securities against only 10,557,341 marks in the class of securities referred to by Dr. Shaw. Of the rest of the funds, 5,850,614 marks were lent on chattels, and 2,552,376 marks on notes with personal endorsements.† In Prussia also real estate mortgages are the most popular class of securities. In 1893 there were 2,215,111,717 marks invested in real estate security against only 1,138,028,196 in public securities. The mortgages were nearly evenly divided between city and country property. Of the rest of the savings funds in Prussia 147,278,935 marks were invested in ordinary commercial paper.‡

This haste after unexceptionable arguments in favor of a proposed system depending upon the favor of legislation may be questionable politics. It certainly militates against clear thinking on the subject.

The enthusiasm which pervades the directories of postal savings systems evidences the whole-hearted service which the growing system has secured and furnishes one explanation of its remarkable success. Here we are not surprised to find the critical spirit absent. In my own interviews with officials in the state systems I have invariably been assured that there was absolutely no conflict of interest between the state savings bank and the ordinary commercial banks. A

* "Municipal Government in Europe." p. 372.

† *Zeitschrift des Königlich Sächsischen Statistischen Bureaus*, for 1895. p. 40.

‡ *Zeitschrift des Königlich Preussischen Statistischen Bureaus*, for 1895. p. 119.

fair sample of such opinions is that of the Director-General of the French Posts and Telegraph:

"As regards the private banks," he wrote to Mr. Wanamaker, "they have nothing to fear from the postal savings bank, which receives deposits from one franc upwards, and even deposits less than one franc, which the depositor pastes on a card and which are accepted when their value has reached one franc. The operation of postal savings banks relates principally to small accounts; and experience has shown that the postal savings bank does not in the least interfere with the development of the private banks which receive larger deposits. The vast majority of the depositors in the postal savings bank consists of minors, laborers, clerks, etc., whilst the private banks have their depositors among persons of greater means."

This is certainly the view which the enthusiastic advocate prefers to entertain, and if it could be imparted to our bankers a very formidable opposition would be allayed. It is a view, however, which has not been supported by evidence, so far as commercial banks are concerned, and I doubt if it can stand as a sound prophecy as to developments in the future.

The position is probably based upon the theory of the savings banks as a preparatory school for the commercial bank; the depositor after passing a certain stage of development finding it to his advantage to become a patron of the commercial bank. This theory assumes an incapacity on the part of the savings bank to respond to the demands of the small capitalist.

Such an inherent incapacity seems to be negated by the statutory limitations which have been placed upon the functions of the savings banks in all the history of their development. In Wurtemberg only certain classes of persons are permitted to become patrons of the savings banks. Nearly all savings banks are limited in the amount of single deposits and in the size of accounts allowed to a single depositor. This is evidently designed for the protection of the commercial banks. At least it is in effect hostile to the encouragement of savings. Much more consistent is the

policy of the postal bank of Belgium which fixes no maximum for deposit accounts but discriminates in favor of the small depositor by gradations in the rate of interest, the rate on sums not exceeding 5000 francs being three per cent, and the rate being two per cent for everything in excess of that amount. The purpose might be still further served by fixing an amount beyond which no interest would be paid at all. Thus the patronage of the large depositor would only increase the attractiveness of the system to the small depositor by adding the earnings of a part of his deposit to the interest fund for the small deposits.

The large increase of patronage which follows upon every new opportunity offered to the larger depositor seems to indicate that the institution may appeal to a larger constituency than the French Director and Mr. Wanamaker are willing to admit. In England prior to 1893 one person could not deposit within a year a greater amount than thirty pounds sterling, an individual account could never exceed two hundred pounds sterling, purchases of government stock for one person could not exceed one hundred pounds within a year, and the total purchases of stock for one person by the postal authorities could not exceed three hundred pounds. An increase of these maxima was one of the achievements of the late Rosebery government. The law of December 21, 1893, raised the maxima as follows: of the amount which might be deposited within a year to fifty pounds; of the amount which might be invested in government stock within a year to two hundred pounds; and of the total amount of such purchases to five hundred pounds. These larger opportunities were greeted by an enormous increase of patronage. In the year following there was an increase in the number of deposit accounts of 524,000—nearly double the increase of the year preceding. The grand total of deposits was increased by more than eight and a half million pounds. The amount of the average deposit was increased by five shillings. The

average account was increased from fourteen pounds to fourteen pounds and twelve shillings.

Neither does experience show that the aim is always realized in the matter of the coveted patronage. After the first four years of the operation of the Austrian postal savings bank the patronage ranked in numerical order as follows: first, the student and scholar class; second, the propertied class, as merchants, manufacturers, land-owners, etc.; third, the wage-earning class.

A strong safeguard against the saving bank's impinging upon the sphere of the commercial banks is found in the obstructions to free withdrawals—the requirement of notice of withdrawals beyond certain amounts. Such restrictions are, under existing devices, made necessary by the policy of a low reserve. This policy is essential to a high interest rate and its abandonment would be a decided departure from the character of a savings institution, unless some new device could be introduced for the protection of the interest rate. If the saving-bank ever seriously contests the territory now occupied by commercial banks the deposits must be kept subject to immediate call.

Austria has departed from traditional methods so far as to add what may properly be called a commercial department to her postal savings system. Without abandoning her strictly savings bank with its usual restrictions, she has added a department in which freedom enough is allowed to meet the needs of the average business man, in that, although at the cost of a lower rate of interest, withdrawals may be made by cheque. At the close of 1895 there were 1,110,000 deposit accounts in the regular savings department against 28,000 in the cheque department. But in volume of business the advantage is very much with the cheque department. The report for 1895 shows a turnover of 2,970,000,000 florins and 13,740,000 transactions in the cheque department against a turnover of 68,000,000 florins and 2,595,000 transactions in the savings department. The total accounts at the close

of the year stood for the cheque department 54,541,000 florins with a reserve of 2,779,000 against 44,248,000 florins in the regular savings department, and 17,045,000 florins to the credit of its depositors.

The cheque department also shows every sign of growth. The annual number of transactions increased from 269,000 in 1887 to more than ten and a half million in 1893 and to nearly fourteen million in 1895. The number of accounts also shows a steady increase. Of the twenty-five thousand in 1893 seven thousand were in Vienna, and the next largest number were in Prague—which ranks second in commercial importance. This certainly shows a tendency to encroach upon the territory of the commercial banks.

It may properly be objected to this showing that the cheque department is not strictly a savings institution—that it only reaches out after the commercial business by sacrificing a part of the motive to saving. But what could be said of its commercial possibilities if the whole savings institution could be supplied with the same commercial facilities, could offer the same freedom of withdrawal to depositors, could fully incorporate the chequing principle without sacrificing the earning power of the deposits? This could not be accomplished by any private system or any municipal system of savings. These systems must protect themselves against runs, either by restrictions upon the right of withdrawal or by a sufficient reserve. In the latter case the interest inducement is partly sacrificed. The sovereign state, however, is armed with functions by which it may easily accomplish it. More than that, the state, it seems to me, could abandon the reserve fund entirely and keep all the money bearing interest. This was provided for in the bill introduced into the senate by Senator Allen, of Nebraska, which would permit the net deposits for each day to be invested in interest-bearing securities, by permitting the postmaster to pay withdrawals, where necessary, in postal notes. This bill provided for the cancellation of such notes when received at the treasury.

The objection to the Allen plan, that it would interfere with the volume of the circulating medium, might be met by substituting for his scheme for cancellation a provision endowing the postal notes with the same money functions that our greenbacks possess, and requiring such emergency issue for each day to be reported to the central authority, and by requiring such authority to set aside, or direct to be set aside, an equivalent amount of greenbacks and postal notes out of the day's deposits for cancellation. The introduction of such an innovation would permit the most complete union of the savings and the cheque departments without any sacrifice of the former. It would be directly in furtherance of the savings principle. The earning power of the savings on which interest would be allowed would be increased both by avoiding the necessity for any reserve—the entire deposits being invested in securities—and by the larger amounts which the chequing privileges would attract. The unrestricted freedom of withdrawal which it would allow would be not only attractive to the business community but would render the institution much more attractive to the wage-earning class as well. All classes would feel much more inclined to leave their money where they could feel perfectly sure that they might have it back at any time their convenience or an emergency might require.

If such a plan should prove practical, the question, in the light of the Austrian experience, would be, not whether the savings bank would share in the business now enjoyed by the commercial banks, but how much of this business it would take. Such a scheme in action might create far-reaching and radical institutional and economic changes. It suggests most interesting modifications of existing banking customs.

The two great considerations which would make for its success in competition with the established system would be the greater security of deposits and the interest-bearing quality. The security of government behind deposits is a

consideration which would not be despised by any class of depositors. The interest inducement indeed is a consideration which would appeal strongly to nine-tenths of bank depositors, particularly to the patrons of country banks.

Perhaps the greatest consideration which would militate against its success would be the absence of the personal element. In transferring accounts from the commercial to the savings bank the gain in safety and interest would be at the sacrifice of personal favors, of that credit which attaches to the good name of the reputable business man. The private bank has an index to business character and commercial regularity in the book account of its customer. Hence cheques are often honored when there is no money on deposit, and loans are often made on the strength of an upright business character. The human element will be entirely eliminated from the savings bank. The chequing power will always find its limitations in the amount on deposit. A good name will count for naught in the placing of funds, and loans on good personal security will necessarily form no considerable part of the scheme of a state savings institution. The director will never look at the applicant for a loan; he will look solely to the security which he offers, and the security must be of a substantial kind.

In proportion to its success our present banking energies would take on the character of a money brokerage business. Capitalists who deal in money, being deprived of the use of money left with them on deposit, would deal in commercial paper out of their private funds. Such a transition would create the most radical modification in our system of exchange, in a tremendous shrinkage in credit transactions. The money brokers would naturally gravitate to the larger centres, and their business would be limited to the larger classes of interests. Thus the use of credit would be largely withdrawn from the residents of the smaller centres, and from the smaller commercial interests generally. The advantages of the elasticity of credit transactions would

thus be lost, and commercial interests would be more at the mercy of the monetary policy of the central government, more exposed to the disasters incidental to an unwise policy.

On the other hand the transition might result in an advantage to commercial health in more conservative methods of carrying on private businesses. The country merchant being obliged to deal with the jobber in cash would be obliged to resort to a greater extent to cash transactions in dealing with his own customers, thus would the profit and loss column tend to disappear from the ledger, and with a more definite budget, commercial intelligence as well as commercial integrity would grow apace. There might be found another advantage in exemptions from general or local commercial disasters, starting with the failures of commercial banks.

As to its probable effect in the United States, such a postal savings system as I have here indicated might lend itself more readily to commercial uses than in Austria. Our methods of business have been more daring, risks are more readily assumed, and disasters more frequently follow, carrying with them in their train banking institutions and their patrons. It is a question whether so many object lessons have not prepared our sober business men to make safety of accounts an object worthy even of considerable sacrifice of convenience.

Finally I conclude that there is no ground for the assumption that savings banks naturally appeal to a different constituency from that of commercial banks. I conclude that both facts of experience and a common-sense view of the situation support a contrary theory. I submit that the more the savings bank is equipped to secure the greatest results in promoting saving the more it will be calculated to invade the territory now occupied by commercial banks. The extent of this invasion can only be a subject for conjecture.

Without recognizing this conflict of interests even the political aspects of the question cannot be intelligently considered. It is scarcely possible that the economic possibilities here suggested will not play a considerable part in the legislation on the subject when the point is reached. The advantage of the highest type of a savings bank and the possible advantages to commercial habits will be placed in one side of the balance, and in the other will be placed the commercial disadvantages and the political influence of banking interests. It is pretty certain that the state savings bank in some form will be introduced into the United States before very long. The interesting question is whether it will prove an uncompromising triumph of the savings principle, or how far it will be curbed with a view to excluding it from the territory now occupied by the commercial banks. There is much to be said pro and con as to either policy. Whatever policy may possess the greatest merit the best results are likely to be secured by placing the issues in their true light before the public.

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THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF SHIP CANALS.

Much has been written concerning the ship canals of the world as great works of engineering; much, too, on their political and military importance; but of the part they have played in the great economic changes, the result of the marvelous development of transport industries during this last half century, it is not so easy to find definite or satisfactory accounts. At the same time vague and indefinite statements frequently made indicate that their economic importance has been significant; and, in fact, it is only as they are influential in this way that they become commercially profitable undertakings. The attempt is made in this paper to trace with some degree of precision these economic effects, showing how, in consequence of the canals, important changes have been made in business machinery, in business methods, in producing and marketing commodities, and in general economic development.

The ship canals do not form a connected part of the world's transportation system, and in consequence the economic results of each are, in the main, independent of all other canals. Furthermore, the economic importance of the different canals presents the widest variations. Each opens the way for the creation of many and extensive carrying routes; but, while the influence of some has been merely local, the consequences of others have been felt throughout the commercial and industrial world. These conditions suggest the natural method of treatment to be a consideration of each canal separately, tracing so far as possible the economic effects that have resulted from its existence.

The Amsterdam and Manchester canals, each constructed to serve the needs of a single port, do not present the possibilities of any large and general economic results. The Welland, Corinth and Kiel canals have a larger field of

possibilities ; but their actual consequences have as yet been small. The results of these less important canals are therefore but briefly considered in this paper. The examination of the vastly more important and significant results of the Suez and St. Mary's Falls canals will comprise the larger part of this study.

In a country as well supplied with smaller canals as Holland is, it was natural that the idea of a ship canal should present itself to Amsterdam, when the shallowness of the Zuyder Zee and other difficulties of approach were causing her to lose trade to her rival, Rotterdam. The idea soon took practical form, and in 1826 the Helder Canal, with an eighteen-foot channel, offered an easier approach to the Dutch port. With the development of the shipping industry, the dimensions of this canal became inadequate after a few decades, while its length (fifty miles) and the difficult entrance in the passes of the Texel proved additional disadvantages. To maintain the commercial position of Amsterdam the construction of a new and larger canal, built by the shortest line to the sea, was decided on ; and in 1876 the North Sea Canal, fifteen and one-half miles in length, and twenty-three feet in depth, was opened for use.

The effect of the new canal on the commerce of Amsterdam was instantaneous. For twenty years the tonnage statistics for shipping at that port had shown an almost complete stagnation, while at Rotterdam the shipping had trebled. In six years after the new canal was opened the tonnage entering and clearing at Amsterdam had more than doubled,—rising from 802,000 tons in 1876 to 1,734,000 tons in 1882. In the former year the Amsterdam shipping was but little over one quarter that at Rotterdam; in the latter year it was almost a half. Since 1882, however, the increase has been at a much slower rate, while the continued rapid upward movement of the Rotterdam figures show that there is no falling off in the general trade.* Evidently the

* See Table II.

larger and deeper draught vessels now constructed find the twenty-three-foot channel too shallow, and an enlargement of the canal will be necessary to enable Amsterdam to retain even her existing position.

The Manchester Ship Canal resembles the Amsterdam Canal in connecting a large city with the open sea, and in being constructed with a view to its effects on the city at its inland terminus. There is the difference, however, that the promoters of the English canal aim not simply at retaining and developing an already existing trade, but at creating a new port. The expectation of the promoters and of the corporation of Manchester which has bonded itself heavily to secure the completion of the canal, is that the raw materials for Manchester manufactures will be brought via the canal, this route saving the heavy expenses connected with the transfer to the railroad at Liverpool. It is perhaps too early to say whether these expectations will be realized; although the estimate of a traffic of 3,000,000 tons within two years of opening has not been fulfilled, a large trade has been developed. The canal was opened on January 1, 1894, and during the first year 1280 sea-going vessels and 1660 boats for coast traffic came up to Manchester. For the nine months ending September, 1896, the traffic was 1,300,000 tons, an increase of 350,000 tons over the corresponding period of the year before. This development within three years of a trade approaching that of Amsterdam in volume, is not without significance, and with a continued increase, Manchester in a few years will become an important shipping port.*

Like the Manchester Canal, the Corinth and Kiel canals have not produced immediate effects equal to the anticipations of their promoters. The Corinth Canal was opened in October, 1893, and the total traffic at the end of December,

* From the investor's point of view, the results of the Manchester Canal are more discouraging because of the heavy expense of construction, it being almost equal to the cost of the Suez Canal.

1895 (twenty-six months), had been but 4589 ships with a tonnage of 596,000 tons. The first year's operation of the Kiel Canal between the Baltic and North Seas showed a record of 7500 steamers and 9300 sailing vessels; but these were mostly small vessels, and the receipts from tolls were under 900,000 marks, against an estimate of 5,000,000 marks.

It is evident, however, that these canals have been in operation too short a time for a full development of their possibilities. The future may demonstrate that these routes offer a net advantage to shipping on account of the saving in distances and the greater safety from shipwreck; and a considerable traffic may develop with important economic results. The Welland Canal does not seem at first sight to offer this hopeful outlook. The present fourteen-foot channel has been in use since 1887, yet the traffic does not exceed 1,000,000 tons a year. But a deepening of the channel and the enlargement of the locks, so as to reduce the number, might result in a considerable increase in the traffic.

There may be latent possibilities in the traffic of each of these canals we have been considering; but thus far the great bulk of the trade they were intended to get, remains undiverted from old routes, little new trade has been developed, and no important economic results have appeared. This however is not the case with the Suez and Saint Mary's canals.

THE SUEZ CANAL.

In December, 1858, a company was formed to undertake M. de Lesseps' audacious scheme of connecting the Mediterranean and Red Seas; in the following spring, work was commenced, and in 1869 the Suez Canal opened a new water route to the East.

It takes but a glance at the statistics of traffic to notice the enormous difference between the trade that has developed through the Suez Canal, and that of the canals

already considered. Beginning in 1870, with 486 vessels, having a tonnage of 436,000 tons, there was a steady increase until 1875, when it had reached nearly fifteen hundred ships and over 2,000,000 tons. After a few years of quiescence came a second period of rapid increase, from 1880 to 1883, in the latter year the figures of 3300 ships and 5,800,000 tons being reached. Since then there has been a slowly increasing tonnage, reaching the maximum figure of 8,700,000 tons in 1891, but falling off somewhat since that year. In 1896 the figures were 3409 ships with a tonnage of 8,594,307.

The importance of these figures may be made clearer by recalling the fact that the foreign tonnage entering at the port of New York has rarely exceeded 7,500,000 tons in any year, and that the foreign tonnage for all the ports of the United States, both entering and clearing, is about 35,000,000 tons. That is, the traffic through the Suez Canal, measured by volume, is almost a quarter of the total foreign trade of the United States. But if measured by value, the importance of the canal traffic is seen to be much greater. The imports and exports of India, via the Suez Canal, are equal in value to \$360,000,000, which is nearly one-quarter of the value of the foreign trade of the United States. As the Indian trade constitutes rather less than one-half the total traffic of the Suez Canal, the value of the whole of that traffic must be not far from a half of the foreign trade of the United States.

The development of a trade of such an extent and value by a new route within the space of twenty-five years could not but have an important and far-reaching influence on the economic interests of the world. Perhaps the most striking results of the opening of the canal route to the East were those on the machinery of trade—meaning by this term both the material appliances and the business organization of trade. One effect might have been in part anticipated. The new route saved nearly three thousand marine leagues

on the voyage from the ports of western Europe to the East, or almost half the distance to Bombay. The obvious result of the use of the new route would be that half of the vessels engaged in the Eastern trade would be out of employment. In fact, however, the change came more indirectly. Sailing vessels did not find it advantageous to use the canal, and continued on the old route around the Cape of Good Hope. But the canal, by making practicable the use of steamships in the oriental trade, brought about an even greater revolution in the character of the shipping business to the East. By the Cape route coaling places were few, and the facilities for coaling expensive; the consequence was that the enormous expense of coaling at these out-of-the-way places, with the loss of freight room from the extra space needed for coal, made the use of steamers unprofitable. But by the canal route a steamer could coal at Gibraltar, Malta, Port Said and Aden, where coal could be furnished at moderate rates; while the space saved from coal could be used to carry a larger cargo. Accordingly, a large number of new iron screw steamers were soon constructed for the trade with the East, and replaced a large percentage of the sailing vessels. It has been estimated that 2,000,000 tons of vessels were thus thrown out of employment, and the effect of this can be seen in the immediate reduction in the tonnage of sailing vessels. In 1869 the sailing tonnage in the British foreign trade was 3,600,000 tons; in 1876 it was but 3,230,000 tons.

In the construction of the new steamers for the canal trade, two lines already in existence—the Peninsular and Oriental Steamship Company, and the Messageries Compagnie—took prominent parts. But new companies also were rapidly organized, which built steamers and established new lines to the East, among which may be noted the British India Steam Navigation Company, the Clan Line, the Austro-Hungarian Lloyds Company, the Italian Steam Navigation Company, and the Rubbotino Company, of Genoa. It is not possible to get at the amount of ship building made

necessary by the change in the kind of ships used in the eastern trade; but some idea of the importance of the change may be seen by noting the fact that the total steam tonnage in the British foreign trade increased from 650,000 tons in 1869 to 1,500,000 tons in 1876. It would, of course, be possible to learn the number and tonnage of ships now engaged in the trade between Europe and the East, but to account for all of this by the Suez Canal would be to exaggerate its effects. Improvements in marine engines and in the construction of steamers make much longer steamer voyages possible to-day than were possible in 1870, as is shown by the lines to Australia and across the Pacific Ocean. It is, therefore, certain that if no Suez Canal had been built, there would have been by this time steamers in the Eastern trade. But the change would have come at a much later period, and sailing vessels would continue to carry a large, perhaps a dominant share of the traffic. The effect of the Suez Canal was to make the transition from sail to steam sharp and decisive, and to bring it about in the decade 1870-1880.

One change in the shipping industry that was expected from the construction of the Suez Canal has not been realized. It was predicted that the geographical advantage given to the Mediterranean ports by the new route would soon enable them to regain the position they had held in the Middle Ages as the carriers of eastern produce to the markets of Europe. In England it was felt that the canal would seriously threaten British maritime supremacy. But the results have been otherwise. It was only in England that the capital was at hand to build the large screw steamers which alone could profitably use the canal; and from the start three-fourths of the vessels using the canal have been British. Of late years there has been a slight decline in the percentage of British vessels, but this has been due not to an increase in the ships of southern European nations, but to an increase in German, Dutch and Belgian vessels.

But while the carrying trade is still in British vessels, a much larger and a growing share of the traffic is carried from the East directly to the continent, and England has declined in relative importance as a warehousing and distributing point for eastern goods. Under the old régime of sailing vessels around the Cape, when voyages from India took a good part of a year, and the time of arrival could not be calculated on within a month or two, it was necessary that large stocks of goods should be kept on hand to enable dealers to meet the varying demand for their goods. Steamers by way of the Suez Canal make the voyage in thirty days, and the time of their arrival can be regulated within a day. Shorter voyages and punctuality of arrivals make it possible for local dealers both in England and on the Continent to order directly from the East, and the change in the method of this business rendered useless to a large extent the immense warehouses at London, Liverpool and other English ports. A few statistics will show the extent to which direct trade between the East and the Continent has taken the place of trade via England. In 1870 the value of exports from India to the United Kingdom was nearly \$70,000,000, to the rest of Europe \$13,000,000; in 1893-94 the value of Indian exports to the United Kingdom was \$93,000,000, to other European countries \$85,000,000. In other words, while the total export trade of India and the total exports to Europe have doubled in value, within twenty-three years, and the exports to European countries other than Great Britain have multiplied sixfold, the exports from India to the United Kingdom have increased but 40 per cent. The proportion of Indian exports to Europe, that are landed first in the United Kingdom, declined from 83 to 53 per cent.

This change in the direction of trade has not been simply the transfer of the distributing points from England to the Mediterranean ports of southern Europe. The towns of Italy, Greece and southern France have been almost as

greatly disappointed in their expectations of becoming trade centres, as in their hopes of controlling the shipping trade to the East through the operation of the Suez Canal. To be sure there has been a heavy increase in Indian exports to Italy, Austria and Russia; and the Mediterranean ports, notably Genoa, have increased in importance. But the most striking features of the change in the direction of Indian exports lies in the increased traffic to France, Holland, Belgium, and, above all, to Germany. The statistics of Indian exports to these countries* show that there is no longer any one country pre-eminent as a distributing point for eastern produce, but that all Europe trades directly with the East. Nevertheless, with this great change in the character of the Indian export trade, the imports of European goods to India continue, as in the days before the canal, to come almost entirely from England.

The termination of the warehouse distribution system of England was one of the forces which led to the disappearance of the class of merchant princes, who had hitherto monopolized the Eastern trade. The system of bank discounts and commercial loans, by enabling men of ability to secure capital at low rates of interest, also played a large part in driving out of trade the old houses doing business on their own capital, from which they expected large rates of interest. But as long as large stocks of goods had to be kept on hand for six months or more at a time, it was difficult for the new business man to get the credit that would enable him to supplant the old established houses in the Eastern trade. When, however, the new route by the Suez Canal by bringing steamers into use enabled a cargo to be sold and delivered within a month after the order had been sent, the advantages on the side of the man working with borrowed capital were decisive.

As a result of the opening of the Suez Canal, sailing vessels, warehouses, merchant princes, dealers in six

* See Table IV.

months' bills found their old occupations slipping away. The old modes and channels of business were altered and new adjustments had to be made. In the meantime, the confusion and disturbances in the business world were so great that the London *Economist* has said that they constituted one great general cause for the universal, commercial and industrial depression and disturbance of 1873.

The effect of the opening of the Suez Canal and the new route to the East on the production and marketing of eastern produce is by no means so easy to trace as the effects on the machinery of trade. If all the necessary statistical material were at hand it would be an almost endless task to disentangle from the complex results of complicated causes the exact changes that have been due to the canal. It is possible, however, to see the effects produced by the canal in the case of a few leading commodities, and in other respects the general tendency of the new route can be recognized.

A few commodities will serve to show that not every article in the eastern trade has been affected by the new route and the new methods of business brought about by it. The exports of Indian cotton have remained at about the same figure since the opening of the canal, showing that for that article the sailing vessel and the Cape route provided as cheap a road as the canal route. The exports of Indian wool and of spices have increased to some extent, but with nothing to indicate that the increase is greater than would have taken place in the ordinary development of trade. The exports of tea from India show an astonishing increase, from 11,000,000 pounds in 1870 to 120,000,000 in 1893-94. But with an article of such high value the direct effects of the canal through cheaper freight rates can have had little influence here, though indirectly the increased Indian production may be due in part to the easier communication with the west that was made possible by the canal. In the earlier arrival of the new season's teas the influence of the canal in shortening the time from India to England is clearly

evident. Tea imports to England in July, 1870, were 711,000 pounds; in July, 1871, 4,000,000 pounds; in July, 1872, 23,000,000 pounds—the enormous increase being the direct result of the use of steamers via the canal in place of sailing vessels and the long Cape voyage.

Rice is a commodity the trade in which has been subject to important changes as a direct result of the use of the canal route to the East. Rice is a staple Italian cereal, and a leading article of Italian export. It had formerly been imported into European countries by the Cape route, but by the canal route Eastern rice was enabled to reach markets in southern Europe formerly inaccessible, and even to be sold in Italy itself, much to the displeasure of the Italian producers. In the six years following the opening of the Suez Canal the export of Indian rice doubled, and has continued to increase since. It constitutes the largest single item in the export trade of India.

The creation of the wheat export trade of India is due directly to the opening of the Suez Canal route to Europe. Efforts had been made to carry wheat around the Cape, but the liability to heat during the long voyage and the loss from weevil in the cargo made all such attempts unsuccessful. The possibility of carrying wheat by the new and shorter route was soon demonstrated, and a trade was established that has grown until India has become the second wheat exporting country in the world. In 1870 the wheat exports of India were 130,000 bushels; in 1876, over 4,000,000 bushels; in 1883, 35,000,000 bushels; in 1891, 50,000,000 bushels.

Since the last date there has been a considerable decline in the extent of the export owing to poor crops, but under ordinary conditions the Indian product is an important item in the wheat market of the world. It will be observed that the great increase in this Indian export trade did not begin until after the year 1876. The extension at that time came about through the reduction in freight rates made

possible by improved steamers. It is, nevertheless, true that the establishment of the wheat export trade of India and the possibility of any such trade existing at all is to be ascribed to the Suez Canal.

Of the imports into India the direct influence of the Suez Canal seems to be striking in the case of but one commodity—petroleum from the Russian oil fields at Batoum. Before the discovery of these fields the imports of oil into India were insignificant; the value of such imports in 1869 was about \$110,000, and in 1876 had risen only to \$175,000. But when the Batoum oil fields were discovered an extensive trade to India via the Suez Canal immediately developed. In 1880 the imports of oil into India were 6,500,000 gallons, valued at \$1,360,000; in 1885 this had risen to 26,300,000 gallons; in 1890 to 51,800,000 gallons, and in 1893 to 86,600,000 gallons. For a considerable period the Indian demand absorbed more than half the total product of the Russian oil wells, and to-day it takes more than a quarter of their output. As the distance from Batoum to India around Africa is as great as that from the American oil fields, it does not seem possible that any of this Russian oil would have found its way to India by the Cape route. Some trade might have arisen by the overland route to India, which, when railroad connections from the Caspian Sea to India are complete, would have become important; but the oil imports of India as they stand to-day are made possible only by the existence of the canal route.

It may be well, while dealing with particular commodities, to note that nearly a million tons of coal are annually brought to Port Said for the steamers passing through the canal. This coal makes a considerable item in the Mediterranean trade due to the Suez Canal.

If the question be asked, what is the total significance of the Suez Canal on the production and marketing of commodities, the answer can be given only in general terms. A superficial observer might base an estimate on the increase in

Indian trade with Europe from \$280,000,000 in 1870, to \$700,000,000 in 1894. If, however, it is borne in mind that this increase has been at a less proportionate rate than that from 1850 to 1870 without the canal, and if the large extensions of the foreign trade of Australia, South Africa, Argentina and the United States within the last twenty years are also remembered, it must be evident that other and more general causes than the opening of the canal have affected the development in India. On the other hand, to limit the effects of the canal to those results which can be directly traced, such as the development of the trade in rice, wheat and petroleum, is to err by understatement. The greater ease of communication by the canal route has brought much more western life into personal contact with the East, and this has had much to do with the development not only of the foreign trade of the eastern countries, but also of their internal resources. One phase of this general development in which the canal has had an indirect share may be seen in the tonnage statistics of some of the eastern countries. From 1870 to 1894 the total foreign tonnage of India rose from 4,000,000 tons to 7,660,000; of Ceylon from 1,420,000 tons to 6,360,000 tons; of the Straits Settlements from 1,650,000 tons to 10,000,000 tons; of Hong Kong from 2,640,000 tons to 10,460,000 tons. How much of this increase is to be ascribed to the canal, and how much to other causes cannot be calculated or even roughly estimated. We must remain content, in this part of our inquiry, with recognizing that the canal is one of the factors in the great economic development of southern Asia.

To recapitulate: The construction of the Suez Canal has led to the immediate and rapid development of the use of steamers in the eastern trade, has brought about the disuse of most sailing vessels in that trade, has caused the decline of the warehouse distribution system of England, and the rise of a direct trade between the East and the consuming countries of Europe. The shorter and more direct route

has also made possible the wheat export trade of India, and the trade in oil from Batoum to India, and has doubled the rice exports of the latter country. The canal has also been one of many factors in other important economic changes, among which may be mentioned the crisis of 1873 and the general development of trade and industry in the East.

THE SAINT MARY'S FALLS CANAL.

There had been a canal around the falls in Saint Mary's River between Lake Superior and Lake Michigan, available for vessels drawing not over ten feet of water from 1856 on; but there can hardly be said to have been a ship canal until 1881 when the United States Government completed a seventeen-foot channel between the lakes, and provided a 515-foot lock with a single lift of eighteen feet for carrying vessels from the level of one lake to that of the other. The growth of the traffic through this canal led the Dominion Government to construct a canal around the Canadian side of the falls 1895, and in 1896 the United States canal was enlarged to a twenty-foot channel, and provided with an 880-foot lock.

The volume of traffic through this canal far exceeds that through the Suez Canal. In 1881 the traffic of the old Saint Mary's Falls Canal was 1,560,000 tons, as against 4,130,000 tons through the Suez Canal; but with the enlargement of the American canal a rapid increase in traffic immediately developed. By 1889 it equaled that of the Suez Canal (about 7,000,000 tons in each); in 1895 a tonnage of 15,000,000 tons went through the Saint Mary's Falls Canal, as compared with 8,500,000 tons through the Suez Canal; and in 1896 the figures for Saint Mary's Falls Canal were 16,240,000 tons. The present traffic through the American canal exceeds the total foreign trade of the port of New York, and is equal to nearly half the total volume of the foreign trade of the United States. In value the traffic through Saint Mary's Falls Canal presents less

imposing figures, though even in this respect it is by no means insignificant. The value of the freight passing through the canal in 1896 is estimated at \$186,000,000, while the Indian traffic alone through the Suez Canal is valued at \$360,000,000. Nevertheless, a trade of \$186,000,000 a year developing within the period of sixteen years may *prima facie* be expected to have had important economic effects.

As in the case of the Suez Canal the most striking results have been on the machinery of trade, the influence of the Saint Mary's Canal on the shipping industry of the Great Lakes being especially marked. It is not too much to say that the development of the carrying trade on the Great Lakes both in the number and kind of vessels used is due almost wholly to the "Soo" Canal. From 1881 to 1895 the volume of commerce through the Detroit River increased from 17,500,000 tons to 29,000,000 tons. During the same period the volume of commerce through the Saint Mary's Falls Canal increased by 13,500,000 tons, and as the larger share of the canal traffic goes through the Detroit River to Lake Erie ports the increase in the traffic through the Detroit River is seen to have been mainly in the traffic from Lake Superior made possible by the existence of the canal and locks at Sault Ste. Marie.* This increase in traffic has meant a corresponding increase in the number of vessels in the lake carrying trade, and probably half of the 3230 vessels on the Lakes are employed in business depending on the canal. Between 1883 and 1897 the total tonnage on the Lakes increased from 720,000 to 1,410,000 tons, the increase being more than the total increase in the American merchant marine during this time. Further, while in 1883 the lake tonnage was but a sixth of the total American merchant marine, in 1897 it was nearly two-sevenths of that total.

Not only has there been this increase in traffic and shipping due to the canal, but within the last ten years there

* The grain trade from Lake Michigan ports east has also increased.

has been a rapid and striking change in the material and structure of the ships on the Great Lakes, which could hardly have taken place had it not been for the canal. There has not been any sudden displacement of the old vessels such as was occasioned by the Suez Canal, but the new ships built for the increased traffic, and to replace those that wear out, are not sailing vessels of wood, but large steel and iron steamships, with double bottoms, water-tight compartments, triple expansion engines and modern electrical appliances. In 1870 there were 1699 sailing vessels and but 642 steamers on the Lakes; in 1897 there were 993 sailing vessels and 1775 steamers. In 1870 the average tonnage of vessels on the Lakes was 175 tons; in 1897 it was 440 tons. In 1880 a 1000-ton vessel was a rarity; in 1895 there were five lines owning together sixty steamships of from 1750 to 3000 tons.*

The "Soo" Canal is connected in two ways with these changes in the lake shipping. In the first place, the increase in lake traffic which has necessitated large numbers of new

*Lake vessels are now built to carry 5000 tons on a 16-foot draught, and 7000 tons on a 20-foot draught. The place of the lake tonnage in the American merchant marine is shown by the following remarks and table taken from the "Annual Report of the Commissioner of Navigation for 1897" (p. 8):

"We are almost exclusively indebted to the growth of shipbuilding on the Great Lakes for our increase in tonnage during the past ten years, as is indicated by the following table, showing our total documented tonnage by geographical districts on June 30 of each year designated:

	1897—Tons.	1887—Tons.	1877—Tons.
Atlantic and Gulf coasts,	2,647,796	2,847,135	2,944,865
Pacific Coast,	439,012	334,669	251,556
Total salt water,	3,086,808	3,181,804	3,196,421
Great Lakes system,	1,410,103	733,069	610,160
Western rivers,	272,109	356,355	436,018
Total fresh water,	1,682,212	1,089,424	1,046,178
Grand total	4,769,020	4,271,228	4,242,599

"The discovery and utilization of the mineral wealth of the Great Lakes region, supplemented by timely appropriations by Congress for the improvement of navigation, have brought about a maritime growth in that portion of our country which is without parallel in maritime history. Our lake fleet alone is greater than that of any foreign nation except Great Britain or Germany."

ships, and thus hastened the introduction of larger and modern ships, has been, as we have seen, mainly in the traffic from and to Lake Superior made possible by the canal. In the second place, the iron ore from which the iron and steel ships are constructed comes from the iron mines of northern Michigan and Wisconsin, which have been made available by the canal route from the mines to the ports in the southern lakes.

The mention of these iron ores brings up the second phase of the economic effects of the "Soo" Canal,—those on the production and marketing of commodities. The case of iron and steel may well be given the first place as the largest item in the traffic through the canal. The most striking features in the iron and steel industries since 1880 have been the decline in the importance of the Pennsylvania mines, the development of the Lake Superior region, and the transfer of the manufacture of pig iron and steel from the east to the west of the Alleghenies. Several factors have served to bring about this remarkable shift. The Superior ores are of the quality available for making steel by the Bessemer process; the large deposits have made profitable the use of labor-saving machinery in mining, and the construction of special terminals for loading and unloading the ore. But an equally important factor is the low rates of freight from the mines to the manufacturing points in Ohio, western Pennsylvania and Illinois by the water route through the canal. In 1895 the rate from the mines to Erie ports was eighty cents per ton, equal to nine-tenths of a mill per ton mile. The lowest railroad rate per ton mile would equal a charge of \$2.59 a ton from Duluth to Cleveland; and as the price of red hematite ore of Bessemer quality at Cleveland in 1895 was \$2.80 a ton, the dependence of Lake Superior ore on the water route may be easily seen.

An interesting case of interacting causes is to be seen in the relation between the Lake Superior iron mines and the shipping on the Great Lakes. It was the development of

the iron mines which furnished the trade of the large steel steamships, and also the material for constructing them, while the use of the larger and better ships has lowered freight rates and still further developed the iron industry.

The development of the Lake Superior iron mines has been an important factor in causing the great reduction in the price of Bessemer steel during the last sixteen years, and it is this reduction that has made possible the largely increased use of steel in ship-building, in bridges, in heavier rails, and in the tall buildings of our large cities. Indirectly then, all these improvements have depended to a large degree on the existence of the Saint Mary's Falls Canal. The extent of this relation may be indicated in some degree by the statistics of the iron ore movement through the canal. From 1860 to 1881 the amount of iron ore passing through the canal increased from 100,000 tons to 750,000 tons per year; but since the construction of the larger lock the increase has been at a much greater rate. In 1887, 2,500,000 tons went through the canal; and for each of the years, 1895 and 1896, 8,000,000 tons. Throughout the period since 1881 the traffic in iron ore has formed about one-half the total tonnage passing through the canal. The figures for 1895 and 1896 are equal to four-fifths of the total production of the Lake Superior mines, which in turn constitutes two-thirds of the total iron ore output of the United States.*

The most important part of the traffic through the "Soo" Canal, however, is not iron ore, but wheat and flour. The value of these items in the canal traffic is three times that of the iron ore, and equal to \$70,000,000, or more than a third of the valuation of the total commerce through the canal. In volume the traffic has grown from 3,500,000 bushels of wheat and 600,000 barrels of flour in 1881 to 63,250,000 bushels of wheat and nearly 9,000,000 barrels of flour in 1896. The last figures account for a large fraction of the 467,000,000 bushels of wheat raised in the United

*See Table VI.

States in 1896, being in fact almost equal to that portion of the crop exported. The movement of wheat through the canal just about equals the total receipts at Buffalo and Erie.

It is not, however, possible to give the canal alone the credit for having developed this wheat trade. The production of the wheat was only made possible by the construction of railroads through Minnesota and the Dakotas, and these same railroads provide a means of getting the wheat to market via Chicago. But, if all-rail rates had to be paid Minnesota and Dakota wheat and flour could not compete so well with that from the country near the eastern markets, as it does by having water rates from Duluth to Buffalo. It should also be borne in mind that railroad building in Dakota and Minnesota began on a large scale only after the enlargement of the canal, when it was seen that they could connect with a through direct water route to Buffalo. The canal has therefore been an important factor in developing wheat production in the country west of Lake Superior.*

Besides wheat there has been a considerable traffic in other grain, but this first assumed large dimensions in the year 1896 when 27,000,000 bushels of grain other than wheat went through the canal, as against 8,000,000 bushels in the previous year. As yet this is a less important item than that of wheat, but the relations between the canal and the development of the traffic are the same in both cases.

The same relations can also be traced in the development of the lumber traffic. This grew from 82,000,000 feet in 1881 to 685,000,000 feet in 1896. As in the case of wheat a considerable increase would have resulted from the construction of railroads, but the construction of railroads has been hastened and increased by the existence of the water route to the east through the canal, and it is only by cheap water rates that such a huge traffic has been developed. If, however, the cutting down of forests is the true explanation

*See Table VI.

of the destructive spring floods in the Mississippi Valley the encouragement given to the lumber traffic by the canal may not after all have been of economic advantage to the country as a whole.

The other important item in the south-bound traffic through the canal does not seem to have been dependent on the canal. The amount of copper going by this route increased from 29,000 tons in 1881 to 116,000 tons in 1896; but the cheaper freights made possible by the canal can have had little effect in promoting the production of an article valued at \$200 a ton.

Of the north-bound traffic the only item of large dimensions is that of coal. In 1881, 295,000 tons of coal passed through the canal; in 1896, over 3,000,000 tons. The whole of this traffic may be said to have been created by the canal. The lowest railroad rates would be too high to allow any coal to be carried to the country around Lake Superior, but the lake steamers, going back empty for their cargoes of iron ore and wheat, can afford to carry coal at rates which seem incredible. In 1890, the average freight rate on coal from Buffalo to Duluth was thirty cents a ton, and for part of the time it was only ten cents a ton. It is through such rates that the northward movement of coal and the consequent development of a large iron manufacturing industry near the ore mines are made possible.

The geographical changes in production that have resulted from the operation of the Saint Mary's Falls Canal have been accompanied by important movements of population. A definite connection can be shown between the canal and certain particular population movements, but with other changes the canal has been only one of several factors. The increase of population around the shores of Lake Superior may fairly be ascribed to the development which has been given to that country, by the canal. Taking the counties bordering on Lake Superior, we find that from 1880 to 1890 the population of the Michigan counties increased from 61,750

to 116,600; of the Wisconsin counties, from 8000 to 41,000, and of the Minnesota counties, from 6400 to 54,700. The total increase is not a startling figure in the United States, but compared with the percentage increase in these same states as a whole the result is striking. During the decade the population of Michigan and Wisconsin increased in each case about 27 per cent, and of Minnesota about 70 per cent; in the Lake Superior counties the per cent of increase was, in Michigan 90 per cent, in Wisconsin 400 per cent, and in Minnesota 800 per cent. The only explanation of the difference is that new lines of industry have been opened up by the larger "Soo" Canal. One conspicuous feature of this increase of population in the Lake Superior region is the development of cities. Of the total increase of 136,000, 72,000 occurs in the six cities of Duluth, Superior, Ishpeming, Ashland, Marquette and Iron Mountain. Duluth, from a town of 3500 in 1880, had become a city of 33,000 in 1890, and six years later had a population of 60,000. Ishpeming increased during the ten years from 6000 to 11,000; Superior from 4700 to 9000; while the other three places were not in existence in 1880, but had populations between 8500 and 12,000 in 1890.

Among the movements of population where the effects of the "Soo" Canal have been greater but are not so exactly calculable, may be mentioned the settlement of the Red River Valley and the increase in the cities on and near the southern shores of Lake Erie. The first of these is connected directly with the development of wheat production in that region, in which, as has been seen, the canal had a most important influence. The second is due, in large part, to the development of the iron and steel manufacturing industries, brought about by the use of iron ore from the Lake Superior region.

A comparison of the influence of the Saint Mary's Falls Canal with that of the Suez Canal, shows that both have led to a rapid change in the material and character of ships used, that brought about by the Suez Canal being the most

important, both in the extent of new shipping and in the consequent dislocation of old forms of industry. Both canals, too, have led to important changes in the sources of production of several commodities, and the effects of the American canal on iron and wheat production are greater than any effects traceable to the Suez Canal. In the case of the more general changes in which the extent of the influence of the canals cannot be measured, no accurate comparison between the two is possible, but considering the greater area and population in Asia affected by the Suez Canal, it is evident that its influences on general development have been greater.

Both canals have led to the production of wheat on a large scale in areas hitherto unused for that purpose, these districts constituting a large part of the total increase in the area devoted to wheat production. In consequence of this total increase of wheat raising area during the last fifteen years, and the cheaper transportation to European markets, there has been a large reduction in the normal price of wheat. Cheaper food and less distress from famines and the fall in prices received by farmers in the old wheat producing districts have been due in no small degree to the canals.

New York City.

J. A. FAIRLIE.

TABLES.

I.

	Date Opened.	Length.	Breadth		Depth of Channel.	Locks.		Total Excavation.	Expense of Construction.
			Water Level.	Bottom.		Number.	Lockage.		
		Miles	Ft.	Ft.	Ft.		Ft.	Cubic Yards.	
1. Helder (Holland) Canal .	1826	50½	110	30	18	0	..		
2. Suez Canal	1869	100	196	72	26	0	..	100,000,000	\$80,000,000
3. Second Amsterdam Canal .	1876	15½	..	88½	23	0	..	..	15,000,000
4. St. Mary's Falls Canal . .	1881	1½	..	80	17	1	18	..	2,000,000
<i>Ibid</i> enlargement	1896	1½	..	100	20	1	18	..	4,750,000
5. Welland Canal	1887	27	..	..	14	26	327	..	24,000,000
6. Corinth Canal	1893	4	92	52	28	0	..	11,000,000	12,000,000
7. Manchester Canal	1894	35	..	120	26	5	60	50,000,000	75,000,000
8. North Sea—Baltic Canal .	1896	61½	..	67	28	2	..	100,000,000	40,000,000

II.—*Tonnage of Shipping Entering and Clearing at Amsterdam and Rotterdam.*

YEAR.	AMSTERDAM.				ROTTERDAM.			
	Entered.		Cleared.		Entered.		Cleared.	
	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.
1856 . . .	1596	401,961	1458	279,208	2254	532,401	1837	461,340
1860 . . .	1997	411,175	1472	277,527	2369	666,431	2046	597,145
1870 . . .	1330	405,498	808	225,958	2871	1,125,124	2368	955,375
1876 . . .	1171	391,553	1248	410,168	3443	1,406,044	3786	1,524,820
1877 . . .	1517	604,179	1527	608,094	3266	1,386,779	3410	1,437,241
1882 . . .	1632	877,182	1628	856,084	3859	2,002,439	4002	2,047,337
1887 . . .	1473	921,140	952	579,466	3853	2,386,748	2754	1,412,469
1891 . . .	1569	1,051,326	1027	632,821	4208	2,865,185	2686	1,400,993
1895 . . .	1512	1,109,082	1138	743,754	4442	3,759,480	2764	1,658,136

Compiled from "*Staatkundig en Staathuishoudkundig Jaarboekjen.*"

III.—*Traffic through Suez and St. Mary's Falls Canals.*

YEAR.	ST. MARY'S FALLS CANAL.		SUEZ CANAL.		
	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.	Tonnage from India.
1855 . . . . .	..	106,296*	..	..	..
1860 . . . . .	..	403,657	..	..	..
1865	997	409,062	..	..	..
1870	1,828	690,826	486	436,609	..
1871	1,637	751,101	765	761,467	464,198
1872	2,004	914,735	1082	1,160,743	626,824
1873	2,517	1,204,446	1173	1,367,767	816,527
1874	1,734	1,070,857	1264	1,631,650	1,133,968
1875	2,033	1,259,534	1494	2,009,984	1,440,270
1876	2,417	1,541,676	1457	2,006,771	1,518,690
1877	2,451	1,439,216	1663	2,355,447	1,617,839
1878	2,567	1,667,136	1593	2,269,678	1,426,957
1879	3,121	1,677,071	1477	2,263,332	1,609,769
1880	3,503	1,734,890*	2026	3,057,421	2,133,872
1881	4,004	1,567,741*	2727	4,136,779	2,887,988
1882	4,774	2,029,521*	3198	5,074,808	2,585,920
1883	4,315	2,267,105	3307	5,775,861	3,151,792
1884	5,689	2,874,557	3284	5,871,500	2,817,551
1885	5,380	3,256,628	3624	6,335,752	3,058,641
1886	7,424	4,527,759	3100	5,767,655	2,946,650
1887	9,355	5,494,649	3137	5,903,024	3,045,735
1888	7,803	6,411,423	3440	6,640,834	3,143,957
1889	9,579	7,516,022	3425	6,783,187	3,055,364
1890	10,557	9,041,213	3389	6,890,094	3,308,516
1891	10,191	8,888,759	4207	8,698,777	4,431,824
1892	12,580	11,214,333	3559	7,712,028	3,525,259
1893	12,008	10,796,572	3341	7,659,068	3,563,310
1894	14,491	13,195,860	3352	8,039,175	..
1895	17,956	15,062,580	3434	8,448,383	..
1896	18,615	16,239,061	3409	8,594,307	..

* Before 1881 the figures for St. Mary's Falls Canal are gross tons; after 1881, and all figures for Suez Canal, are net tonnage.

IV.—*Values of Indian Exports by Countries.*

(In tens of rupees.)

COUNTRIES.	1870.	1876.	1883-4.	1893-4.
United Kingdom	27,798,698	28,381,699	39,057,340	37,167,329
France	4,227,279	4,603,359	8,368,522	10,727,206
Germany	77,101	139,948	616,352	7,648,508
Belgium	1,020,249	137,271	3,403,359	5,726,272
Holland		183,421	340,426	1,482,370
Spain			226,861	452,787
Italy		1,223,814	3,520,741	3,574,420
Austria		1,410,295	2,252,389	2,988,164
Russia		511,620	149,635	665,327
Egypt		204,688	3,598,954	3,722,692
Mauritius	474,333	1,209,643	902,052	1,441,458
Aden and Arabia	521,624	1,224,814	1,399,259	2,252,627
Ceylon	1,930,089	2,689,048	1,965,676	3,679,870
China	12,501,426	11,520,414	13,201,865	11,290,966
Japan		6,125	287,870	1,419,369
Persia	1,463,454	618,973	1,475,672	1,990,510
Straits Settlements	1,321,902	2,642,797	3,088,327	5,018,822
United States	1,506,932	1,778,409	3,102,689	3,359,821
Total Exports	53,496,762	56,839,851	89,102,868	110,472,327
Exports via Suez Canal		22,188,108	50,376,083	69,793,888

Compiled from Statistical Reports of India in British Parliamentary Papers.

V.—*Leading Articles of Indian Foreign Trade.*

		1870.	1876.	1883-4.	1893-4.
<i>Exports.</i>					
Cotton	Cwts. .	4,953,879	5,010,785	5,987,278	4,794,152
Rice	Cwts. .	10,614,644	20,416,032	27,039,359	24,649,723
Wheat	Cwts. .	78,208	2,510,768	21,001,412	12,156,851
Hides and Skins	No. . .	13,675,997	19,444,133	28,183,506	36,216,806
Jute Bags	No. . .	6,441,863	19,258,250	63,645,984	131,266,827
Jute Cloth	Yards .		3,921,065	7,049,165	60,670,094
Seeds	Cwts. .	4,379,784	10,507,404	17,357,884	24,238,605
Spices	Lbs. . .	19,351,860	25,266,851	18,514,877	24,347,989
Tea	Lbs. . .	11,480,213	24,561,826	60,473,113	120,907,616
Wool	Lbs. . .	20,392,634	24,138,636	25,235,180	36,821,308
<i>Imports.</i>					
Cotton Goods	Yards .	919,636,793	1,187,150,170	1,724,095,627	2,129,704,904
Petroleum Oils	Gals. .	500,000	800,000	13,107,267	86,611,938
Silk Manufactures	Yards .	2,778,143	8,111,562	11,550,961	16,418,727
Woolens	Yards .	4,886,887	7,233,629	9,316,192	15,054,352

VI.—Wheat and Iron Ore Production in the United States.

STATES.	WHEAT (BUSHELS).				IRON ORE (TONS).		
	1870	1880	1890	1893	1880	1889	1895
New York	12,178,462	11,587,766	8,304,539	6,846,059	1,126,899	1,247,537	307,256
New Jersey . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	676,225	415,510	282,433
Pennsylvania . .	19,672,967	19,462,405	21,595,499	18,351,508	1,951,496	1,560,234	900,340
Ohio	27,882,150	46,014,869	35,559,208	38,916,508	488,753	254,294	44,834
Indiana	27,747,222	47,284,853	37,318,798	35,579,404	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Illinois	30,128,405	51,110,502	37,389,444	15,507,313	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Iowa	29,435,692	31,154,205	8,249,786	6,749,224	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Missouri	14,315,926	24,966,627	30,113,821	15,507,313	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Kansas	2,391,198	17,324,141	30,399,871	23,251,973	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Michigan	16,265,773	35,532,543	24,771,171	19,920,714	1,640,814	5,856,169	5,812,444
Wisconsin	25,606,344	24,884,689	11,698,922	8,664,485	37,000	837,399	649,351
Minnesota	18,866,073	34,601,030	52,300,247	30,604,685	. . . . .	864,508	3,866,453
South Dakota . .	170,662	2,830,289	{ 16,541,138	20,521,389	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
North Dakota . .					. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
United States . .	287,745,626	459,483,137	468,373,968	496,131,725	7,120,362	14,518,041	15,957,614

BOOK DEPARTMENT.

NOTES.

IN HIS ACCOUNT of the new Anglo-Saxon societies in Australasia and South Africa* M. Pierre Leroy-Beaulieu, a son of the distinguished economist of the *Collège de France*, gives us something more than a mere book of travels. While it contains many acute observations on Australian and South African affairs due to the author's personal experience, it co-ordinates a great body of information which could not have been gathered by the casual traveler, but shows the research of the scholar and the economist. For the author is concerned first with the economic and social life of the countries he visited and shows himself apt in describing it. While he does not conceal that he shares the strong individualistic tendencies of the school in which he was educated, his account of the economic legislation of the colonies is candid and tolerant. He does not allow himself to become either advocate or antagonist of these measures, but preserves carefully the attitude of an impartial observer. His account of these recent developments is graphic, while his characterization of more fundamental traits of social organization is just and well balanced. He is equally happy in his delineation of life in South Africa.

A SERIES OF lectures delivered by members of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society,† and now published, consider the different methods of beautifying our cities. The first lecture treats of the relation of art to life. The second lecture deals with the elements of beauty in the cities of the ancient world, and the possible æsthetic combinations in modern cities. In the succeeding lectures this thought is carried out in detail; the decoration of public buildings; public spaces, parks and gardens and color in architecture being treated in separate lectures. From the standpoint of civic development, the emphasis of the æsthetic instincts is becoming increasingly important. Many of the

**Les nouvelles sociétés Anglo-Saxonnes, Australie et Nouvelle-Zélande, Afrique Australe.* PAR PIERRE LEROY-BEAULIEU. Pp. 493. Price 4 fr. Paris: A. Colin et Cie, 1897.

†*Art and Life, and the Building and Decoration of Cities.* A Series of Lectures by Members of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, Delivered at the Fifth Exhibition of the Society in 1896, Pp. 760. Price, 6s. London: Rivington, Percival & Co., 1897.

present evils in city life would not be tolerated by a population having well-developed artistic standards. It is, therefore, a matter of considerable importance that the best results of artistic construction and decoration be placed in such form as to be readily appreciated by the mass of the population. Although we cannot expect mere exposition of artistic principles to become the main factor in the development of new tastes and artistic standards, nevertheless it may play a part of some importance. Viewed in this light, all those interested in civic development will welcome this popular treatment of the æsthetic problems of cities.

THE BULLETIN OF the Department of Labor for November, 1897, contains a lengthy and valuable paper by Dr. G. O. Virtue on "The Anthracite Mine Laborers." Dr. Virtue has been studying the anthracite coal industry for three years and his two publications evidence a thorough knowledge of the subject. The paper on "The Anthracite Combination" published in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, April, 1896, is a good historical sketch of one side of the anthracite industry. This paper on the mine laborers presents another aspect of the industry and one whose study is especially timely. The condition of the anthracite mine laborers is deplorable; they are underpaid, their employment is rendered unsteady by frequent closings of the mines, and they are especially subject to the competition of low grade immigrant labor. The consequences of these labor conditions are serious not only from the standpoint of the mine laborers themselves, but also because of the social dangers incident to the presence in the social organization of such a large body of discontented and turbulent men. It is well known that the causes which have produced this condition of the anthracite coal laborers are two, the forces which have led to the over-production or over-mining of anthracite coal, and the immigration policy adopted by the United States in the "Act to encourage immigration" passed in 1864. The worst phase of the industrial situation of the coal miners is that it does not seem to be one containing in itself forces of self-improvement. Since the downfall of the Workingmen's Benevolent Association which existed from 1868 to 1875, the miners have not succeeded in establishing an organization comprising the laborers in all the anthracite fields. The rapid substitution of foreign laborers for Americans makes organization more difficult, and this substitution is bound to continue under the present immigration laws of the United States. Dr. Virtue's paper gives a clear analysis of present conditions and a concise history of the events that have brought them about.

EX-PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S Princeton Anniversary Address on "The Self-Made Man in American Life," has just appeared in Crowell's "What is Worth While Series" of booklets.* It is a candid, manly and inspiring discussion of the possibilities of usefulness and of the limitations present in that peculiar educational product known as the self-made man who has played so conspicuous a part in American life. Such men do not always realize their own limitations as clearly as Mr. Cleveland has stated them, and it would be well if every one on the road to success won in this way could be led to share the author's large views of duty and of the demands of public service. The series in which this little book appears takes its name from a booklet with that title by Anna Robertson Brown, Ph. D. (Mrs. Lindsay), published in 1893. Two more recent essays by the same author and in the same series, "Culture and Reform" (1896) and "Giving What We Have" (1897), are of interest to students of social topics.

PROFESSOR GUSTAV COHN, of the University of Göttingen, has published under the title, "*Die deutsche Frauenbewegung*,"† a very interesting study of the movement for the higher education and enlarged social activities of women in Germany. He has drawn largely upon his knowledge of the same movement in England for his inspiration and for his attitude toward events in Germany. The book is written in a liberal spirit by one who looks upon the slowness with which women in Germany are accorded opportunities for personal independence and culture as one of the obstacles to social progress in that country. On the other hand his contribution to the forward movement is conservative and based on a minute study of existing conditions and prompted by no desire to undermine the domestic qualities for which the German woman is famous. Professor Cohn's monograph is one that any careful student of the woman question in Germany will want to read. An appendix gives a good bibliography of German works on this subject.

IN A CAREFULLY prepared monograph,‡ the well-known historical investigator, M. Henri Doniol, gives us a minute account of the negotiations between M. Thiers and General Manteuffel, which resulted

* Pp. 32, cloth. Price, 35c. New York and Boston: T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1897.

† *Die deutsche Frauenbewegung*. By GUSTAV COHN. Pp. 226. Berlin: Gebrüder Paetel, 1896.

‡ *M. Thiers, le Comte de St-Vallier, le Général Manteuffel; Libération du territoire (1871-1873)*, Documents inédits, par HENRI DONIOL, Membre de l'Institut. Pp. 447, Price, 4 fr. Paris: Armand Colin et Cie, 1897.

in the evacuation of French territory by the last German forces, in September, 1873. The work is based upon the hitherto unpublished correspondence of those engaged in the prolonged negotiations. M. Doniol observes with truth that the redemption of their territory by the French is one of those historical facts which hold everyone's attention at the time, but are speedily forgotten since they are neither intimately associated with the other events of the period nor with those which followed. Hence this work, conscientious as it is, is scarcely calculated to hold the attention of anyone except the special student of the period or of some survivor among the unfortunates who experienced the exasperation caused by the presence of the detested conquerors.

AT LAST STUDENTS of economic theory are provided with "A Brief Introduction to the Infinitesimal Calculus,"* written especially for their benefit, by a prominent mathematical economist. How great a boon this is, only those can say who have striven in vain to keep abreast of the literature of their subject because of their slight knowledge of the higher mathematics. Professor Fisher's little work is exceedingly clear and supplied with abundant examples which should make its mastery easy to any one not entirely without the mathematical faculty.

MR. GEORGE M. FISK, who received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Munich, in 1896, submitted for his thesis a monograph,† which has since been published, on the diplomatic and commercial relations between Germany and the United States. The body of the book is concerned with the history of the diplomatic relations of the United States and Germany, and the narrative is written in a painstaking and impartial manner. The tenth and twelfth chapters deal respectively with the commercial policy and the trade relations of the two countries. The chapter on commercial policy is a brief summary of the tariff policy of each country, compiled from secondary sources. The analysis of the mutual trade of the two countries is detailed and informing. It is

* Designed especially to aid in reading mathematical economics and statistics. By IRVING FISHER, Ph. D. Pp. vi, 84. Price, 75c. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1897.

† *Die handelspolitischen und sonstigen völkerrechtlichen Beziehungen zwischen Deutschland und den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Eine historisch-statistische Studie von Dr. GEORGE M. FISK. Münchener Volkswirtschaftliche Studien. Pp. xiv, 254. Stuttgart, 1897.*

to be hoped that an English edition of this excellent monograph may be brought out. In case this is done it would be well to change the order of chapters ten and eleven and complete the narrative of the diplomatic history before beginning the discussion of commerce. The book sadly wants an index.

ONE OF THE last volumes to be added to the Story of the Nations Series treats of the history of "British India."* Its author, Mr. R. W. Frazer, is an enthusiastic admirer of the country and its people, and exposes the weaknesses in the administrative system which the English government has adopted, at the same time that he eulogizes the work that men like Robert Clive and Sir John Lawrence have performed for the Indian empire. He even adds the name of Warren Hastings to the list of heroes of India, and devotes a chapter to proving that Hastings was a martyr to the ignorance and prejudice of English statesmen who never clearly understood what sort of a problem was presented in the government of India. Most interesting to the reader concerned with the contemporary phases of the Eastern question is the last chapter, in which the author describes the "Moral and Material Progress" of the country under British rule. He shows clearly that the great problem of the present is to adapt western ideas of governmental expenditure to eastern poverty. The mistake that Englishmen have made in trying to improve India has been the mistake of going too fast. They have introduced all sorts of reforms that the people were not ready for, and plunged the government more and more heavily into debt. The consequence is that taxation is now pushed to its extreme limit and the country is in a poor position to face any serious difficulty like a general crop failure or another rebellion. On the other hand the author shows how much is being done to educate the Indians themselves, and agrees with Sir Alfred Lyall that England's chief mission in India at present is to "superintend the tranquil elevation of the whole moral and intellectual standard" of the people.

AS A CAREFULLY digested, thorough and conservative study of social and economic conditions in the American cotton states during the time of slavery, Dr. Halle's recent book† will be a convenient work of reference for the student of this phase of American life.

* Pp. xviii, 399. Price, \$1.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897.

† *Baumwollproduktion und Pflanzungswirtschaft in den Nordamerikanischen Südstaaten*. By Dr. KERST VON HALLE. Pp. xxiv., 369. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1897.

The growth of the cotton culture in the Southern States is traced from the times of earliest planting. The course of the slave system is fully considered, and its effects on the social and industrial development of the country are clearly brought out. The gradual transformation of the region from small holdings to a landed aristocracy, dependent for all its supplies on the industrial centres of the North; the accompanying change in the thought of the people, from the deprecatory attitude of earlier writers to the pro-slavery economics of the school of Calhoun; the influence of the opposing anti-slavery theory, leading to the final crisis—all these and many other points of collateral interest are brought together and described in a concise and logical manner.

The bibliography is full and well chosen, and the book contains a series of statistical tabulations which are so compiled as to give much assistance to the reader. Dr. Halle has made a useful contribution to American economic history.

A NEW OUTLINE of European history from the year 476 to 1871* has just been brought out by Mr. Arthur Hassall, of Christ Church, Oxford, which boasts of several original features. In place of the division of history into periods and the presentation of the events for each country in succession, familiar in Ploetz, Mr. Hassall has adopted the plan of presenting in four parallel columns and in unbroken sequence contemporary happenings in Germany, Eastern, Southern and Northern Europe, England and France. By virtue of this arrangement the student has always before his eyes as he turns over the pages the events which happened in different parts of Europe during the same year. He is thus spared the trouble of constantly referring back or forward in order to maintain his grasp on contemporary events. This one merit will probably insure a wide use of the work as a book of reference, although the matter actually presented is in many respects less satisfactory than that to be found in other similar hand-books. The author seems to have made use exclusively of political histories in preparing his compilation. Events of the greatest importance in the social and economic history of Europe are passed over entirely. For example, there is no mention in these pages of the invention of printing or of the steam engine, while the only one of the important textile inventions which occurred in England during the latter half of last century to be referred to is that of the

* *A Handbook of European History, 476-1871*. Chronologically arranged. By ARTHUR HASSALL. Pp. iv, 383. Price, \$2.25. London and New York: The Macmillan Company, 1897.

spinning-mule, which is assigned to a wrong date (1775 instead of 1779). The book is liberally provided with appendices containing summaries of important periods, genealogical charts and lists of sovereigns. It is without an index.

ONE OF THE most interesting state treasurer's reports that has been issued during the current year is the "Biennial Report of the Treasurer of the State of Iowa,"* covering the period from July 1, 1895, to June 30, 1897. Unlike so many state treasurers, the treasurer of Iowa, Mr. John Herriott, regards it as his duty to describe the financial operations of his state in such a way that every citizen may understand them. The result is that his report contains an exceedingly lucid explanation of the various steps by which Iowa has plunged into debt during the last two years, and an instructive criticism of some of the administrative features of Iowa's financial system. Between July 1, 1895, and June 30, 1897, warrants against the state treasury were issued to the amount of \$4,748,264.33, and of these, warrants to the amount of \$447,500.73 remained unpaid at the close of the fiscal year. The greater part of these had been presented and endorsed by the treasurer so that they might draw interest at six per cent, there being no money in the treasury with which to pay them. Not all of this sum represents a deficit of receipts below expenditures, however, for against it is to be placed small balances in the state and county treasuries, reducing the uncovered floating debt to \$366,741.96. The report explains this deficit in part by reference to the extraordinary expenditures entailed by accidents to state institutions and in part by reference to the falling off in revenue due to the business depression, and furnishes abundant reasons for believing that it will be made good during the next biennial period if the reforms urged in the report are carried out. These reforms refer to three matters. First, it is urged that a change ought to be made in the taxing laws of the state which should cause the revenue to come in at quarterly instead of semi-annual periods, and thus supply the treasury with funds at the times that it has to make its heaviest disbursements. Such a change would enable the treasurer in normal years to meet the obligations of the state without recourse to the expensive expedient of a floating debt. Secondly, the treasurer believes that the sale of unpaid warrants, which according to the laws of the state draw interest at six per cent from the date that they have been presented for payment and endorsed as "unpaid" by the treasurer, ought

* By JOHN HERRIOTT, Treasurer. Pp. 118. Des Moines: F. R. Conway, 1897.

to be controlled entirely by state officials. The credit of Iowa is so excellent that these six per cent state warrants command high premiums, and under the present system these premiums are lost to the state. The third reform has to do with the collateral inheritance tax, which at present is very poorly administered. The difficulty with this tax in Iowa is that no one department of the government is made responsible for its assessment and collection. In consequence a large proportion of estates passing to collateral heirs escape the tax in part or altogether. The remedy suggested is that the state treasurer be given more ample powers in connection with this tax and that the courts be relieved of their responsibilities in the matter. In addition to the information in regard to Iowa's financial system interesting comparisons are suggested in the Report between the taxing system of that state and those of other states, and this makes it especially valuable.

"FAITH AND SOCIAL SERVICE"* is the title of the volume of Lowell Lectures for 1896 which were given by Dean Hodges, of the Episcopal Theological School of Cambridge. The topics discussed in these eight lectures were (1) The New Forces; (2) Indifference; (3) Doubt; (4) Poverty; (5) Labor; (6) Moral Reform; (7) The City; (8) The Divided Church. They are models of literary form, full of wit and humor, and yet dealing with most serious social evils in a fair and thoroughly scientific spirit. Dr. Hodges shows that he has knowledge of the scientific literature on the topics he discusses, and he is not carried away by his sympathies, but is exceedingly strong in his analysis of existing conditions and their causes, and is conservative in his constructive propositions. It is a book that will fill the want keenly felt in almost all the churches of the present time for light on the moral aspects of the social problems with which the church has to deal. It is perhaps not to the credit of economists and sociologists that a theologian by profession has supplied this want rather better than any one else up to the present moment.

IN THE THIRD volume of the *Bibliothèque Socialiste Internationale*, Professor Antonio Labriola supplies an interesting history and defence of Karl Marx's social philosophy under the title, "*Essais sur la conception matérialiste de l'histoire.*"† In the author's opinion the

* *Faith and Social Service*. Pp. 270. Price, \$1.25. New York: Thos. Whittaker, 1896.

† Avec une préface de G. Sorel. Pp. 348. Price, 3.50 fr. Paris: Giard et Brière, 1897.

ideas of Marx have been grossly misunderstood, and a large part of his work is devoted to explaining away difficulties and replying to captious critics. The work will be interesting to foreign readers for the evidence it furnishes of the progress "scientific socialism" is making in France.

THE MONOGRAPH * OF Dr. Reizenstein upon the early history of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad is devoted largely to a chronological account of the construction of the road and of the financiering of the enterprise. A chapter of thirteen pages contains a discussion of the "general results" which the road has produced upon the economic development of Baltimore and Maryland. One dislikes to speak disparagingly of a work that gives evidence of thorough research, but the monograph under review is disappointing for two reasons. In the first place the chronological narration of the events connected with the construction of an American railroad has comparatively little value at the present time. Several such narratives have been written and they all tell much the same story. Railway history should now be studied with reference to the light which American experience throws upon the numerous present problems of railroad transportation. The second disappointing feature of Dr. Reizenstein's monograph is that it stops just when the history of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad begins to be important for students of transportation, *i. e.*, when the Baltimore & Ohio became one of several rival trunk lines. The problems of railway management and of governmental regulation that resulted from the competition and consolidation of railroads became prominent after 1853. A discriminating interpretation of the history of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad since that date would be of much value.

IN A SMALL volume entitled "*Die Produktions und Preisentwicklung der Rohprodukte der Textilindustrie*,"† Dr. Wilhelm Schultze has given us a monograph which will be very helpful in connection with studies of price movements and standards of value. The author follows the suggestion made by Dr. Lindsay in his "*Preisbewegung der Edelmetalle*" that groups of related articles should be studied as to their conditions of production and consumption in various periods

* *The Economic History of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, 1827-1853.* By MILTON REIZENSTEIN, Ph. D. Pp. 89. Price, 50 cents. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1897.

† Pp. viii, 107. Price, 2.50 m. Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1896.

before any attempt is made to estimate the causes of their rise or fall in price. In general Dr. Schultze follows the same method as Dr. Lindsay, selecting the raw products of the textile industries for consideration. The material which he has brought together bearing on the variations in price and conditions of production and consumption of cotton, wool, silk, flax, hemp and jute, gives a very clear picture of the changes in these industries, and forms the best kind of a basis for an intelligent understanding of the price fluctuations. The author is very happy in his use of diagrams, but rather timid in drawing deductions from his material. He is perhaps right in not assigning statistically the amount of fall in price to the various causes he enumerates, but all his readers will not agree that he has accounted for all the fall in price without taking into account monetary causes at all. It should be noted also that the period covered by this investigation is from 1851 to 1890, and that the author has wisely chosen for comparisons the average prices for the five years, 1851-55, as a base line instead of the usual date of 1873, which is not fairly representative of normal conditions.

THE COAL MINING industry seems to be one peculiarly liable to the evils of excessive competition. In nearly every country where coal is produced complaints of a too rapid and unprofitable production are accompanied by frequent strikes on the part of coal miners whose wages have been reduced to the starvation point. In "Some Notes on the Present State of the Coal Trade in the United Kingdom,"* Mr. D. A. Thomas, M. P., describes in detail the evil as it presents itself in the South Wales and Monmouthshire coal district. In addition to statistics in regard to the coal production and exportation of the United Kingdom, his monograph contains information in regard to the coal trade of other countries and brief descriptions of the different plans that have been adopted in Germany and this country for curtailing production. On the basis of the facts which he has collected he proposes that the colliery owners in South Wales and Monmouthshire enter into an agreement, which shall have the binding force of law, to limit the production of their respective mines for each month to a certain stipulated proportion of the total output of the whole district. Those mines which produce more than their share are to pay fines in proportion to their excessive production to be used to compensate those colliery owners who should produce less than their quota. The advantage of this arrangement would be that each colliery owner would be interested in producing his share and no more than his

* Pp. 85. Price, 5s. Cardiff, 1895.

share of coal during any one period. All being alike interested in maintaining a remunerative price, the author reasonably anticipates as a result of this arrangement the cessation of the present cut-throat competition. Whether the colliery owners can agree on their respective proportions of the total production and whether they can be made to adhere to an agreement once entered into, are questions which the future must decide.

REVIEWS.

The Middle Period, 1817-1858. By JOHN W. BURGESS, Ph. D., LL. D. Pp. xvi, 544. Price \$1.75. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1897.

In Professor Burgess's latest work we have added to our stock of histories a book which by the frankness, directness, and expressiveness of its style has attracted more than usual attention. Covering the period between 1817 and 1858, there is attempted an interpretation of American history which will demonstrate to the South "its error in secession and rebellion." There are no foot-notes, nothing but the usual list of titles; for the author has gone "to original matter, which is usually disconnected and fragmentary, and practically inaccessible to the general reader."

An account of American historiography written twenty-five years hence will place the work of our historians in an interesting light. Thinness may be too harsh a word to use, but certainly inadequateness of conception may be applied without any injustice to that labor which thus far has been spent in portraying the development of the United States. Except Henry Adams and Professor McMaster, no writer brings to his work anything but the conventional literary, legalistic, and essentially parliamentary frame of mind. Leaving aside any discussion as to the meaning of history or whether a writer can give *all* the facts, there remains the feeling that though the points of contact are many, they are all on the surface; that there is missed the few deep points on which the life and heart of the period is centred. One feels the force of the tendency to attend to the externals of history, to the transitory forms which it assumes, rather than to the principles of permanent application which it includes.

There are indications that the writers on American history are departing from the old lines and it is a disappointment that Professor Burgess has not followed them. Written from the point of view of the constitutional lawyer his work adds practically nothing

to our knowledge of the period between the close of the War of 1812, and the outbreak of the Civil War. In the opening chapter, in discussing the change of Republican front there is ignored one of the great consequences of the War of 1812 upon the attitude of the administration towards manufactures. As we know, the restrictive system of Jefferson and the war destroyed the merchant marine of New England and turned the capital of that section toward investments in manufacturing enterprises, which were effectually protected by the embargo and the war. With the return of peace the New England manufacturers were forced to face the probability of ruin unless the federal government should continue in some other form the conditions which had made possible eastern industrial development. There was nothing to be gained by acting with the Federalists, the only hope was to go over to the Republicans and secure the protection as the price of support. With New England manufacturing interests looking to Washington for support, the carrying of the citadel of federalism was more than a hope. The result was that the close of the war saw the Republican party nationalized, and Federalism destroyed by an alliance between the New England manufacturing interests and the agricultural South and West. The tariff of 1816 continued the conditions necessary to sustain domestic industries and cemented the alliance which, with a change in personnel, continued down to 1829.

Again, on page 164, we have the old-time "mob of malcontents" pulling together to explain the election of Jackson, which, was "a political uprising against the monopoly of office-holding by the old official aristocracy." Not a word about the expansion of population and material interests which had thrown New England and the east generally to the edge of our political system. Not a word of the drain of labor away from the manufacturing centres to the agricultural west, nor mention of the tide of immigration which set in after 1820 replacing on the sea-board the *matériel* of a manufacturing population; all of which worked to lead New England and the eastern part of the old Middle States out of the Democratic party to support a national Republican party. The opposition of the industrial centres to internal improvements continued until the economic relations of the South with England forced the Democratic-Republican party back on its old *laissez-faire* policy. Then the eastern wing of the party saw its only chance in an alliance with the west, an alliance which gave us the "American system," which was to reconcile the interests of the industrial northeast with those of the Ohio Valley. So much, in part at least, for an explanation of the "advent of the parvenus."

For an explanation of the reforming of party lines after 1824, Professor Burgess falls back upon the personal hostility of the leaders, which certainly is an admission that the material he consulted will not revolutionize public opinion upon one very important period of our history. What is the "verse and substantiation" of the statement that "down to 1817, no influence of the slavery interest upon the question of internal improvement is discoverable?" What led a Louisiana representative to say in 1817 "We need no roads?" The answer is to be found in the economic history of the South, which since the Revolution was but a record of the development of one natural advantage to the neglect of several others; in the physiography of southeastern United States; and in the commercial relations of the South with England. Slavery was insensibly affecting the attitude of the South toward every phase of federal policy which affected the planting interests. By 1817 the old tobacco-planting aristocracy was impoverished; and it is significant reading that can be found on pages 149, 150, and 165 of the supplement to the ninth volume of *Niles' Register*. The gloom of the recitals found there shows only too clearly that Virginia and North Carolina had a strong sense of their perils, and that Virginia's opposition to internal improvements at federal expense had little to do with "her ancient principle of strict construction" (p. 118). Virginia and the Carolinas were aware that roads and canal sacross a hundred miles of mountains reached an interior region whose natural outlet was the Mississippi, while the Great Lake region was compelled to seek an outlet within the Union through New York City. And with due consideration of the enlarged interests the struggle of the sea-board communities for the control of the trade of the trans-Allegheny region has not changed its character in the last eighty years.

That undue importance has been attached to Jackson's veto of the Maysville Road Bill (p. 169) can be maintained only when the issue is confused, and confuse it Professor Burgess certainly does when he tries to make something significant out of the comparative sums appropriated for internal improvements under Adams and Jackson. The fact is that the great bulk of the appropriations under Jackson and down to the present day have been made for the improvement of rivers and harbors, while those made under preceding administrations were for roads and canals. The constitutional question involved in the latter form of federal activity was entirely different from the one involved in the former, and one is juggling with phrases if the distinction is ignored. The only view that makes this period intelligible is this: That the particularistic reaction which began with Madison's veto in 1817 reached its climax under

Jackson, who sought to make the states the administrative centres they had been in 1800; the federal government withdrew from the field of internal improvements and threw upon the states—then supposed wealthy from the distribution of a mythical surplus—the burden of connecting the different portions of the Union; the States were not equal to the task, sold their public works to individuals and the consequence was the great enlargement of corporate activity, which has done more than anything else to extend the authority of the federal government.

It is not unreasonable to expect that a work dealing with this period would contain some reference to the nominating convention; that a constitutional historian and lawyer would have given us a description of the origin and development of one of the most powerful of extra-constitutional organs. But with the exception of a few sentences on page 208, referring to the congressional caucus, the author is silent upon the subject. In the chapters on the Missouri Compromise and the Dred Scott Decision, Professor Burgess gives us an excellent statement of the positions, and, indeed, where there is any occasion for an exercise of legal analysis he handles his material well. But with all this the book is a disappointing one. Indeed it is difficult to see how a short history of this period can be written until the great wealth of material which lies unused is made available. Only when the forces which were reflected in congressional debates are brought prominently before the rising hope of the South will the "chewing the bitter cud of fancied wrong" cease. Until then we shall continue to have books which are conventional, inadequate, and uninspiring.

JOHN L. STEWART.

Philadelphia.

Agricultural Depression in the United States. By W. A. COUTTS. Pp. 96. Price, 50 cents. Publications of the Michigan Political Science Association, April, 1897.

This monograph was written in competition for one of the prizes offered by Mr. David Lubin, of Sacramento, Cal., to the students of the Universities of Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Michigan, for the best essay on the agricultural depression in the United States. One of the conditions of the contest required that each competitor should discuss Mr. Lubin's scheme for a bounty on agricultural exports. Considered simply as a student's essay, Mr. Coutts' work has some merit. It shows fairness of mind, ability to think clearly, fair attainments in knowledge and the spirit of the careful investigator. But considered as a contribution to our knowledge of industrial

conditions it cannot take high rank. Mr. Coutts has attempted little more than an analysis of the elements of the agricultural situation and a summary of some of the surface facts and arguments which have a bearing upon it. In very few cases has he undertaken to go back of the secondary authorities and get at the bottom facts.

The problem he set for himself was twofold, to determine whether profits in the industry of agriculture were below those in other similar industries, and, if so, why? He answers the first question in the affirmative chiefly on the ground that agriculture is generally reputed to be depressed and that certain writers in magazine articles whom he quotes have proved to his satisfaction that rents in all the older sections of the country have universally declined. His answer to the second question seems to be that protection, inequitable taxation of real estate, foreign tariffs, the crisis of 1893 and the subsequent general industrial depression, and changes in our facilities for transportation have almost certainly contributed to the farmer's difficulties; that overproduction of agricultural staples is a probable and the appreciation of gold a possible cause of depression; and that farm mortgages have no bearing on the question except in so far as appreciation is a factor in the situation. On no one of these points has Mr. Coutts discussed all the pertinent facts, which other people have collected, or attempted to reveal any new facts. Whatever the reader may think of his reasoning,—and with some exceptions it is clear and tolerably convincing,—he can scarcely avoid a feeling of disappointment that the subject had not been handled in a different fashion.

Agriculture in the United States has too long been treated in a superficial and dilettante fashion by economic students, professors and historians. No one has yet published the results of a thorough and comprehensive investigation into our agricultural history and conditions, and consequently no one, as yet, knows much about them. It is high time that economic students in our great universities were set to work digging for facts in this important and attractive field. What we need is an accurate and detailed investigation into the economic history of the different agricultural sections of our country, an investigation which shall make scientific use of all possible sources of information, and which shall eventually reveal to us the actual facts regarding the changes and vicissitudes in the fortunes of farmers in all parts of the country. Until such investigations have been made and their results published no one will be able to answer with any satisfaction or profit the questions which Mr. Coutts has propounded in his monograph.

WM. A. SCOTT.

University of Wisconsin.

A Handbook of Greek Constitutional History. By A. H. J. GREENIDGE, M. A. Pp. 276. Price, \$1.25. London and New York: The Macmillan Co., 1896.

The student of Greek history is fortunate in the number of serviceable books at his disposal. Greece has held such sway over the minds of scholars, that almost every phase of Greek history has been eagerly investigated. A few years ago, however, the discovery of the "Constitution of Athens" threw light upon many subjects and caused some questions to be reopened. The result was a mass of writing which is usable only by the specialist. In the light of this new material, Mr. Greenidge has now put into scholarly form and moderate compass the more important facts about Greek constitutional history. His aim is "to pay more attention to the working than to the mere structure of constitutions."

After defining the terms he must use, he traces the early development of the constitutions and certain general tendencies exemplified in colonization and the growth of international law among the Greeks. Then follow chapters on the different constitutions, classed as oligarchies, mixed constitutions, and democracies. Of these, the last is the longest, and the most interesting, as it is devoted chiefly to Athens. The volume ends with short chapters on federal governments, and "Hellenism and the fate of the Greek constitutions."

The work is done conscientiously and will take rank as the most useful outline yet written. The author has avoided two pitfalls into which many predecessors have fallen; we refer to the exaggerated estimate of the importance of individuals in Greek history, and to the tendency to treat the utterances of philosophers as if their theorizing represented the actual working of constitutions. We have but one criticism to make; the matter is so closely packed that the book is in parts difficult to read. But even when most difficult to read, it repays careful study.

The volume is supplied with a select bibliography—in which we think Holm's history should be mentioned—with indices of subjects, Greek words, and Greek authorities, and with a political map of Greece about 430 B. C.

DANA C. MUNRO.

University of Pennsylvania.

American History told by Contemporaries. Volume I, *Era of Colonization, 1492-1689.* Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Pp. xviii, 606. Price, \$2.00. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1897.

This work essays no easy task. It attempts: "First, to put within convenient reach of schools, libraries and scholars authoritative texts

of rare or quaint writings in American history, contemporary with the events which they describe; and, in the second place, to give, in a succession of scenes, a notion of the movement and connection of the history of America, so that from this work by itself may be had an impression of the forces which have shaped our history, and the problems upon which they have worked." This scheme is so pretentious, the difficulties in the way of its successful accomplishment are so obvious that we open the book with no great confidence. It may prove spicy and interesting, but will it be fair and true? These scraps of history may give many a pleasing sidelight, but must not the price be a loss of all right perspective? Yet in spite of obstacles and in the face of such apprehensions this work attains a distinct and most welcome success.

In such a compilation of the sources of history the cardinal virtues must be accuracy, clearness and balance. The first of these is attained by the utmost care in selecting the earliest or most authoritative text available, and by the painstaking collation of the extract with the original. For the clear and logical organization of material Professor Hart possesses talent of no ordinary degree. At his touch materials the most diverse seem of their own accord to fall into order. At times, to be sure, the order seems a bit too formal, the classification a little too clean-cut. Is mention made of "the offices of sources of history,"—they are straightway grouped as three, and properly ticketed. History, too, has "its threefold office;" libraries, their "triple object." In each of these instances the generalization is suggestive, but its very readiness and simplicity arouses a slight protest against such persistent "trinitarianism." Certainly not less essential than accuracy of quotation and clearness of presentation, is balance or sense of proportion. Historical study must not merely be grounded upon contemporary evidence; that evidence must be weighed, appraised at its true value, seen in its proper perspective. History is perverted none the less by a one-sided contemporary view than by an ill-grounded modern conclusion. How carefully balance is preserved in this work will be discussed later.

Part I is devoted to a "Practical Introduction" for teachers, libraries, and students. It discusses the sources of history, and their educative value, and classifies the sources upon the general topic of colonization, giving a brief descriptive bibliography of the material most available to students. Under "Use of Sources" is found a vast deal of suggestion as to the search for sources, and their use by "teachers, pupils, students and investigators, readers and librarians." The advice and cautions given are excellent and the brief critical list of secondary authorities well chosen and for the

most part fair-minded. To this list there is already to be added John Fiske's "Old Virginia and Her Neighbors." Part II is concerned with "Discovery and Early Voyages." In Part III "Conditions of Colonization" are presented in a series of extracts showing the causes of colonization, the regulations and restrictions under which it was carried on and the diverse character of the emigrants. Parts IV, V, and VI, are devoted to the Southern Colonies, New England and the Middle Colonies, respectively. The extracts vary in length from a dozen lines to ten pages, the average length being about four pages. For ease of reference the extracts are numbered consecutively; the dates of the events described, of the writing and of the translation of each document are given together with the briefest of notes in regard to the writer, followed by a few bibliographical references, for the most part to Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History" and to the "Guide to the Study of American History," recently edited by Professors Channing and Hart. At the end of each selection is clear reference by page, volume and edition to the source from which it has been taken. The minuteness with which the material is indexed adds greatly to the serviceableness of the volume.

The worker in mosaic is far more at the mercy of intractable materials than is the painter or even the sculptor. How successfully the editor has accomplished the more difficult part of the task here attempted, viz., "to give in a succession of scenes a notion of the movement and connection of the history of America," can be appreciated only after studying the sequence of extracts under a given topic. For example, under "Norse and Spanish Discoveries" is found first a selection from the Sagas which narrate the Norse discovery of Greenland and of Wineland the Good. Next from the Journal of Columbus as abridged by Las Casas, comes the account of those eventful days from the tenth to the fourteenth of October, 1492. This is fittingly followed by Eden's translation from the Latin into Black-letter English of the quaintest and crabbedest sort of the famous Bull by which Pope Alexander VI., "of oure owne mere liberalitie and certeyne science, and by the fulnesse of apostolyCALL power" did divide the new world between the Spaniards and the Portuguese. The letter of Columbus to Ferdinand and Isabella describing his fourth voyage is of great interest not only as throwing light upon the character of Columbus and his relations to the Spanish Court, but also as evidencing the all-consuming thirst for gold which joined so strangely with missionary zeal in motivating the voyages of discovery. From Martin Waltsee-Müller's "*Cosmographiæ Interductio*" is translated the brief passage in which America is first suggested as a fitting name for "the fourth part of

the world." The pens of Pizarro and of Gomara, the chaplain of Cortes, present the most dramatic episodes in the conquest of Peru and of Mexico. De Soto's expedition from the ocean to the Mississippi, and the first exploration of the Kansas-Nebraska region are described by eye-witnesses, and Miles Philips' account of experiences in Mexico in the middle of the sixteenth century brings this chapter to a fitting close.

Especially successful is the section which deals with the conditions of emigration, although with but a single exception the selections are here made from English writers. The colonization movement is closely integrated with the history of England. The manifold advantages of colonization are set forth forcibly, though perhaps not disinterestedly by Sir George Peckham, the partner in Sir Humphrey Gilbert's ventures. Hostility to Spain as a motive for colonizing is discussed in the spicy pages from Haklyt's "Discourse on Western Planting," while the Separatists' reasons for leaving England and seeking homes in the New World are made clear by Bradford.

Great discrimination and fairness has been shown in so selecting and grouping the extracts as to present diverse points of view. Some one has said that "Boston has ever been the centre of conscious morality." Our New England forefathers never wavered in the belief that they were the salt of the earth. Hence it is salutary for a reader of Puritan descent to have brought to his notice not only the straightforward narratives of the founders of New England, but also Thomas Lechford's acrid "Note of what Things I Misliked in the Country," the account of Mrs. Hutchinson's trial, and a Dutch opinion of the New England character from the pen of Governor Keift—an opinion to be compared with that entertained of the Dutch by the commissioners of the New England Confederation.

To the student and teacher, especially when remote from the few choice historical libraries, this book will prove a great boon. Nor will it prove less satisfactory to the general reader of history. A taste of sources is stimulating; it can hardly fail to create a craving for more. The reader who is here for the first time introduced to the varied and fascinating sources of our colonial history will long to browse in Haklyt and Smith, to follow the fortunes of the fathers of New England in the modest but inspiring records left us by Bradford and Winthrop, to get the Jesuit "Relations" into his own hands, and see what use has been made of them by such an artist as Parkman. Not only will these extracts themselves lead to a truer understanding of our colonial beginnings, but by the display of

these captivating samples the demand for and use of the unabridged originals cannot fail to be greatly stimulated.

The present volume is one of a projected series, intended to cover the broad range of American history from the earliest discoveries to the present time. The later volumes are to be: Vol. II, "Building of the Republic," 1689-1783; Vol. III, "National Expansion," 1783-1844; Vol. IV, "Welding of the Nation, 1845-1897. How will the later volumes read? To what extent is the success of the present one due to the vast variety of its material and its remoteness from our present-day life and habits of thought? If the succeeding volumes maintain the standard here established it will be no disparagement to any of Professor Hart's previous work to say that in this splendidly edited series of sources he has rendered his greatest service to the study of American history.

GEORGE H. HAYNES.

Worcester Polytechnic Institute.

Contemporary American Opinion of the French Revolution. By CHARLES DOWNES HAZEN. Pp. x, 315. Price, \$2.00. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1897.

At no time in American history have domestic politics been more influenced by foreign happenings than during the period of the French Revolution. Following our own struggle for independence, the movement in France aroused a sympathetic interest which could hardly have been greater had that nation been our next door neighbor instead of being separated from us by the Atlantic Ocean. Was her revolution similar to our own? Were its leaders entitled to American sympathy? If European war should follow, was America bound to aid France? Such were the questions demanding answers from our statesmen, and it was upon lines suggested by these questions that political parties divided. Professor Hazen, in the book before us, undertakes to show by quotations from their writings the attitude of leading contemporary Americans toward French conditions and politics as the revolution passed through its successive stages.

The book is divided into two parts. In the first the author acquaints us with the opinions of our official representatives at Paris, and in the second he introduces the sentiments prevalent among Federalists and Republicans in America. Of our three ministers to France from 1787 to 1797, Monroe seems to have been most hopeful for the future of the French Republic and most prejudiced

in its favor. Jefferson, our representative before 1789, had considerable faith in the genius of the French people and little fear of the future, although the practical statesman is seen in his advice to go slowly. Morris alone realized the gravity of the situation, and in 1789, at the very beginning of his mission, saw "a nation which exists in hopes, prospects and expectations, the reverence for ancient establishments gone, existing forms shaken to the foundation and a new order of things about to take place in which perhaps even to the very names, all former institutions will be disregarded." He was amazed at the rapidity with which changes were being accomplished. "Stay where you are a little while and when you come back you will hardly know your country," he writes to the French ambassador at London, and his other writings were in a similar strain. Jefferson, indeed, had prophesied certain changes, but he believed that they would come from the government rather than from the people. The latter had not the capacity for a rapid advance unless driven to it by famine—an unlikely event—but from Brienne much might be expected. Of Necker he had a poorer opinion, and hence on the very eve of his departure in 1789 Jefferson saw no indication of great or immediate changes.

If Jefferson's prophecies have little value his descriptions are more worthy of notice. He traveled quite extensively in France, and his testimony indicates no such harsh conditions among the peasantry as have been pictured by some other writers. The laboring class was not as well off as in England, but was better situated than in Italy. Although meat was rarely used, Jefferson found no lack of nourishing food among the lower classes. He was sorry that judicial privileges were not more extended and yet doubted whether the people were prepared for that great bulwark of liberty, trial by jury. He expected that a series of reforms would be introduced by the government, and the condition of the nation thus gradually improved.

Morris had no such confidence in the government. With keen judgment he prophesied a despotism as the probable result of the confusion prevailing in 1789, but in spite of this drawback he expected that ultimately much good would result. Of the constitution of '91, so favorably received in America, he wrote, "The Almighty himself could not make it succeed without creating a new species of man." He had not that sympathy with the ideal which was noticeable in Jefferson and so prominent in Monroe, hence it is possible he did not appreciate the spirit of the times as they did, but for a critical view of the earlier legislation and a keen estimate of the more prominent leaders the writings of Morris are unsurpassed.

On this side of the Atlantic there was at first an overwhelming sentiment in favor of the revolutionary movement. Democratic societies rapidly sprang up, whose promoters, influenced by the wave of excitement, proposed to see in America herself a movement toward monarchy and aristocracy which it was their duty to combat. It is interesting to follow this sentiment by means of the large number of quotations and selections which Professor Hazen supplies, and to watch on the one hand the Republicans finding excuses for the increasing disturbance in France, while Federalists like John Adams and Knox grew more and more disgusted. This indeed is the great merit of the book before us. Historians of the United States have often described the feelings aroused in this country by the French Revolution; it has remained for Professor Hazen to place before us the materials on which these descriptions are based. In this way a great service has been done to those of us who have not access to the original writings and who yet desire to read the opinions of contemporary Americans at home and abroad. The selections given are extensive and are accompanied by suggestive comments by the author. There is also a bibliography of his sources of information, and while we must confess that some of the selections given are tiresome reading this in no way interferes with the value of the book as a work of reference.

C. H. LINCOLN.

Philadelphia.

English Local Government of To-Day. By MILO R. MALTBIE, Ph. D. Columbia University Studies. Vol. IX, No. 1. Pp. 287. Price, \$2.00. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1897.

The local organization of England has undergone such important changes during the present century that this careful study of the existing system of local administration in England meets an urgent need. As was pointed out in a previous number of the ANNALS,* the old system of local autonomy has been essentially modified by the introduction of a strong and far-reaching central control so that the English organization now presents certain important points of similarity with the systems in vogue on the Continent. In the monograph under review, Dr. Maltbie traces the growth and extension of this new central control and makes a critical examination of its results as compared with those of the old method of organization. Beginning with the new poor-law administration organized in 1834

* "Administrative Centralization and Decentralization in England." ANNALS, Vol. x, p. 187. September, 1897.

and considering successively the administration of the laws regulating health, police and elementary education, the author makes it clear why a central control became necessary and how this control has been exercised, first, by the legislative, and later by the administrative authorities. Local independence, in each of these branches of administrative activity, had resulted unfavorably, owing to the absence of a harmonious plan, a great waste of energy and corresponding loss in efficiency. The establishment of a central administrative control has produced uniformity, economy and a considerable increase in efficiency. In addition there has been of recent years a decided improvement in the legislative treatment of local organization. Formerly, special or local acts altering the organization of particular local bodies were frequent and, in many cases, injudicious. Under the new system such special bills are submitted to the approval of the central Local Government Board, and the latter, by virtue of its superior insight and experience, exercises a highly beneficial influence on the character of such legislation. The practice of issuing "provisional orders," *i.e.*, permission granted by the Local Government Board and approved by Parliament to make some change in the organization of particular local bodies, has also proved to be an excellent one. As to the relative advantages of a control exercised by Parliament over the local organization and one exercised by the Local Government Board the author declares decidedly in favor of the latter, that is, the administrative control. No legislative body can secure the required information nor exercise the same constant and continuous supervision that may easily be maintained by a permanently organized administrative body. Such are the general conclusions drawn by the author, and they are substantiated by such a thorough study of the period since 1834 that they may be regarded as entirely trustworthy.

It is perhaps to be regretted that the subject of *local* government has been treated almost exclusively from the standpoint of the *central* authorities and that so little attention has been paid to the local side of the new organization. It is also true that the author has restricted himself somewhat severely to the administrative side of the question and has not devoted any considerable attention to the political aspects of the present system. These defects, however, do not detract from the value of the author's conclusions. His treatment of the general theory of administrative control is admirable and the work taken as a whole forms a valuable description of the existing relations between the local and the central administrative organs in England.

JAMES T. YOUNG.

University of Pennsylvania.

Die Eisenbahnreform in Württemberg. By A. MÜLBERGER. Tübingen: Laupp'schen Buchhandlung, 1896.

This book consists of a series of articles upon the railways of Württemberg, written for the *Beobachter* during the years 1894 to 1896. Even in the present form of the essays, traces of their newspaper origin are preserved in the popular style, as well as in a certain fragmentary character and lack of cohesion. But in no other sense are they journalistic. The work of Dr. Mülberger is careful, conscientious and original; he reveals a firm grasp of the economic principles underlying railway policy, while displaying a knowledge of the practical working of a railroad, seldom found outside the administrative bureaus.

The introductory chapter, in which a short sketch of the historical development of the Württemberg railways is given, is not original, being avowedly based upon the prior investigations of Jakob, Fraas and others, but it is interesting, not only historically, but because of the light it throws upon modern problems. In Württemberg, as in other parts of the continent, railways were originally looked upon with considerable distrust, and it required weeks of earnest, not to say anxious, discussion before the first railway law of April 18, 1843, passed the chamber. During a dozen years, this distrust survived, despite the almost immediate success achieved by the important line from Heilbronn to Stuttgart and Ulm. A revulsion of feeling followed, and in the period from 1855 to 1865, the "golden era" of the Württemberg state railways, the chamber no longer waited for the government, but itself took the initiative in proposing the construction of new railways. As the country was gradually opened, railroads became more and more profitable, the inevitable "mania" more virulent, and construction progressed unchecked, even during the French war. But the new roads ate into the profits of the old, and returns upon invested capital sank from 6.39 per cent in 1862 to 3.11 per cent in 1871. No halt was called. Even after 1873 the cry was still for more railroads, especially from districts hitherto unprovided with them. Construction continued, local narrow gauge roads were laid out, and a new era of lavish expenditure was inaugurated, from the effects of which the railways of Württemberg have not yet recovered. According to a recent report (for 1894-95) the Württemberg railways compare unfavorably in almost all respects with those of the other German states.

Dr. Mülberger believes the organization of the railways to be fundamentally wrong, and attributes their uneconomic management to a preference for half measures and unreasoning concessions to separate interests, instead of attempts at thorough systematic reform.

An example of this preference is shown in the passenger fares, which in Württemberg, as throughout Germany, are in a chaotic state. Reduced rates have been granted on every imaginable occasion and for all sorts of reasons, until the normal kilometric rates threaten to become as obsolete as the old "maximal tariffs." The author is a staunch adherent of the policy of radically reducing passenger fares, which will enable many to travel by rail, who at present must use the roads, but at the same time he maintains that low fares would be ruinous unless accompanied by a complete alteration of the passenger policy of the railways. He is an ardent advocate of local railways, believing that the railroad must form the centre of the transportation system, and holding that the capital annually invested in roads might better be applied to the construction of local railways. The local passenger traffic should no longer be considered as subsidiary to the through traffic, but its practical independence should be secured by a greater decentralization in management and by the erection of local advisory railway boards, which could adapt the policy of the line to the needs of the local community. In various parts of his book Mülberger urges the abolition of the first and the limitation of the second class traffic on local lines, the encouragement of this business by low fares and more convenient trains and the despatch of through traffic by more rapid trains. In a witty chapter upon the "*Bummelzug*," "a physiological monstrosity, that is neither fish, fowl, nor flesh, but belongs to the creeping creatures," Dr. Mülberger points out the wastefulness of slow accommodation trains for long distances, and adduces this policy as another cause for the small extent to which the use of the railway has become general among the common people of Württemberg.

A series of chapters in the book is devoted to a history of the early debates in the chamber on the right of the legislative, or of the administrative body to fix rates on state railways and the discussion as to whether such rates may be considered as taxes. In another chapter the author draws up a plan for an ideal organization of the local passenger traffic (taking Crailsheim as a centre) in which very cheap fares, a zone tariff and "postage stamp tickets" are advocated, but it is impossible to judge of the merits of this scheme, without more detailed knowledge of the conditions than we possess. There is also a series of chapters upon the relation between railway rates and the industrial organization, and Mülberger maintains that the improvement "in our railway policy is the first and most important step in the way of definite, well-planned social reform."

There are many other points raised by Dr. Mülberger which would merit discussion, if space permitted. While certain lines of policy are advocated, upon the advisability of which we must differ with the author, the book as a whole is a valuable contribution to the study of railway policy, and may be heartily recommended not only to those interested in German railroads, but to all students of transportation.

WALTER E. WEYL.

Philadelphia.

State Control of Trade and Commerce by National or State Authority.

By ALBERT STICKNEY. Pp. xiv, 202. New York: Baker, Voorhis & Co., 1897.

It is not often that a strictly legal work calls for notice in the ANNALS, but Mr. Stickney's subject lies as much in the fields of economics and political science as it does in the domain of law. The corporate organization of industry has necessitated such a degree of state interference in industrial matters that the student of economic phenomena is perforce obliged to become a student of a large body of law. The problems of state regulation and state control of industry have become more instead of less complicated and fundamental with the evolution of the corporation. Indeed, the corporate organization of industry is compelling economists to recast their theories of production and distribution and requiring political scientists to revise their notions of the functions of the state. This being the case, it becomes extremely desirable that workers in the economic and political sciences should know clearly the spirit and scope of existing laws regarding the state control of trade and commerce.

Mr. Stickney has very successfully depicted the course of English and American law concerning the state control of private and public employments. The contrast between private and public employments is sharply drawn, and chapters are given to the control of each class of employments in England as well as in America. In each of these four chapters the leading statutes are quoted in full or in part, and the more important judicial decisions interpreting the statutes are critically considered. Chapter V discusses the "recent decisions as to contracts in restraint of trade or commerce," the two important decisions considered being that in the New York case, *People vs. Sheldon*, and that in the United States *vs. Trans-Missouri Freight Association*. In the closing chapter of the book the author endeavors to prove that "combinations formed to prevent

competition among the combining parties, or to raise prices [do not] work any substantial damage to the public."

The book was written to prove the thesis that the "recent decisions of our highest tribunals, especially the United States Supreme Court and the New York Court of Appeals, holding that a mere combination of carriers, or of private property owners, providing for the fixing of rates and prices for their own property, by one common authority for all, constitutes a crime, are . . . at variance with the tendencies and growth of English and American law, and . . . in conflict with the fundamental principles of the law of property under a modern constitutional government." It seems to me that the author has proved a part of his thesis, but has failed to establish his thesis as a whole. In his admirable analysis of the course of English and American law as to the control of industry, Mr. Stickney proves conclusively that recent decisions have given a new meaning to the term "contracts in restraint of trade." There is no doubt that the New York Court of Appeals and the Supreme Court have regarded "contracts in restraint of trade" differently than they were treated in previous decisions, and that they have thereby made new law. The author has proved that much of his thesis.

Precedent, however, is not all decisive even in law. The courts may have taken the stand they did in *People vs. Sheldon* and *United States vs. Trans-Missouri Freight Association* because they erred in their interpretation of the legal principles involved, as Mr. Stickney maintains; or the decision may have been reached because economic and social conditions have so changed that legislation concerning the state regulation of industry in the present decade means something different from what it meant five hundred or even one hundred years ago. It is possible that a judicial interpretation of very recent laws that is consonant with existing economic and social conditions will not tally in form, at least, with previous decisions reached when those conditions were very different. Mr. Stickney's argument is based strictly on legal precedent, and he takes little or no account of the influences exerted by industrial and social changes. Indeed, he denies that those changes may properly modify in any way the attitude of the state toward the control of private employments.

Mr. Stickney is not an extreme individualist, for he justifies the recent extension of the state control to public employments. "Public control with these properties," he says, "has taken the form of control, both of the use of the properties, and of the prices of such use. Such control is a necessity. It is recognized as such

by all competent judges. It has its legitimate province and its legitimate limitations. It appears to be increasing rather than decreasing. The reason is that the public necessities demand such increase." The validity of these views will hardly be questioned. Furthermore, the author is to be commended for the accuracy with which he points out the fundamental differences between public and private employments, and he is correct when he asserts that a recognition of those differences "lies at the bottom of all sound legislation for the regulation of properties and employments of all kinds." Mr. Stickney errs in pushing a sound principle too far. Neither lawyers nor economists will accept the following views as accurate: "Experience shows that in its contest with capital, labor is well able to take care of itself. We need have no fears for its future. . . . Neither will it in the long run get more than its just dues. Each can well take care of itself. Each is fully protected by the industrial laws." I question whether "the 'genius of our institutions' is overwhelmingly in favor of emancipation from all restrictions on complete contractual freedom—in private employments."

EMORY R. JOHNSON.

System der nationalen Schutzpolitik nach Aussen. By Dr. JOHANNES WERNICKE. Pp. 340. Price, 6m. Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1896.

The term "national protection" has a much more extended meaning in Germany than in the United States, and it is protection in its widest sense that is treated in the work under review. The ten chapters into which the book is divided take up subjects as diverse as tariffs and immigration, railroad charges and the standard of value. The standpoint of the author is that of extreme protectionism which savors at times of old-time mercantilism. The ideal economic policy is described as one that encourages in every possible way the home production of all kinds of commodities. This ideal possesses a political as well as an economic side. The government should encourage exports rather than imports, and it is preferable that money should show a tendency toward in-flowing rather than out-flowing. Free trade is a thing of the past. As it exists in England it is a one-sided protection, favoring the industrial classes at the expense of agriculture. The foundations of a state rest upon a protection of the weaker against the stronger, and upon a policy which develops not only manufacturing but also agriculture.

Coming to particular questions, the author believes that no invariable rule can be laid down as to the rate of a tariff. In order to avoid the evil effects of price fluctuations, he thinks it advisable that commercial treaties in the future allow for a rise or fall in tariffs corresponding to the rise and fall in prices. In the discussion of the "most favored nation clause," the question of its abolition, so far as the United States is concerned, is mooted. While export premiums are justifiable, their complexity as regards the one article of sugar, on which in Europe not only direct but indirect bounties are paid, leads the writer to recommend their abolition. This recommendation, it may be added, has found many supporters in Germany of late, who look upon such a measure as the most practical way of meeting the "bounty clause" in the Dingley bill.

In the United States there is more or less criticism regarding our consular service, and it cannot be said that this criticism is without foundation. Some two years since, the reviewer spent an afternoon in the House of Commons when the English consular service was under discussion. The general trend of the speeches delivered was to the effect that the English service was poor while the German was in every respect excellent. In this connection it is interesting to note that our author declares that the preparation of German consuls is entirely inadequate. They are for the most part lawyers and bureaucrats with no special fitness for their work. The contents of their reports are in the highest degree stale (*dürftig*). "The French and Belgian consuls, as well as the Italian, Swiss, and pre-eminently the consuls of the United States, are much more in touch (than the German) with the industrial and commercial circles of their own countries."

In dealing with the subject of colonization the author devotes much space to a plea for a more energetic colonial policy in Germany, as the following paragraph bears witness: "Since 1815 the population of Germany has doubled. Have the enemies of colonization ever made clear what will be the outcome of such a state of affairs? It is lamentable that the German sleeping-gown Philister is not yet always able to open his eyes and look out over the boundary of Germany. What a pity that we cannot let such people sail around the earth for a couple of years at public expense! Then would they comprehend what is the matter with us and what it is necessary to do."

The author considers in detail the subject of a value standard. For undeveloped countries silver is an adequate standard but for civilized countries gold is the necessary standard. From the

"gold" standpoint the subject is well presented and the conclusions arrived at are, for the most part, based upon interesting and valuable statistical material. In Chapter VIII, the author deals almost exclusively with the amount and kinds of money in Germany and the means of maintaining the gold reserve, while Chapter IX is devoted to various measures of Agrarian protection in the Fatherland. In 1896 the Agrarians succeeded in passing a law prohibiting dealings in grain options (*Getreideterminhandel*) believing such operations tended to depress the price of grain. Following the passage of this law the grain prices showed a marked downward tendency, and during the present season the general advance in prices seems to have operated less favorably for Germany than for any other country. The author's conclusion is that while a reform in the methods of *Getreideterminhandel* was advisable, its abolition was uncalled for. The absurdities of the proposition of Count Kanitz whereby the government was to buy up and offer for sale at a fixed price (average price for 1850-90) all grain which was allowed to be imported, are clearly brought to light by the author. The division of the book is not altogether proportional; for example, Chapters VII, VIII and IX occupy nearly two-thirds of the whole book, and subjects, whose careful exposition would, at least for American readers, be of great interest and value, are contracted in a way that renders them very unsatisfactory. To American readers, the most interesting feature of the work under review is its attempt to outline a comprehensive and aggressive governmental policy in direct opposition to the maxim of *laissez-faire* which still has such a strong hold on the American as well as the English mind. Here is no hint of governmental incapacity to deal with the most complicated industrial problems. It is assumed that the government will be as wise and as energetic as the most enlightened statesmen entrusted with the guidance of governmental policy, and the author's only concern is to determine what line of action is dictated by considerations of social expediency in connection with the various problems he considers.

GEORGE M. FISK.

American Embassy, Berlin,

MISCELLANY.

THIRD CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SOCIOLOGY, HELD AT PARIS, JULY 21-24, 1897.

After holding at Paris its first two congresses in 1894 and 1895, the International Institute of Sociology decided not to hold a reunion in 1896, in order not to discourage its members by demanding of them too great an effort to sustain these gatherings, and in order to insure the greater success of the congress which it was proposed to hold in 1897. Subsequent events proved the wisdom of this decision, because the reunion which has just been held has been productive of the most happy results. From the moment of its opening the congress was pronounced a singular success. It was held at the Sorbonne. In accordance with the hospitable permission of the eminent authorities of the University, a hall of the Faculty of Science was placed at our disposal, and we had the honor of assembling in a place made sacred by the glorious traditions of scientific research and of higher education.

The President of the International Institute of Sociology for 1897, M. Paul de Lilienfeld, Senator of the Russian Empire, came from St. Petersburg in order to preside at the congress. He opened the session on Wednesday, July 21, at three o'clock in the afternoon. Seated around him on the platform were M. A. Espinas, Vice-President of the International Institute; MM. J. Novicow and G. Tarde, former vice-presidents, and the General Secretary. Twenty-one members or associates of the Institute were present. They were, besides those already named, MM. R. Garofalo, N. Karéief, Achille Loria, L. Manouvrier, C. N. Starcke, L. Stein, S. R. Steinmetz and Emile Worms, members; and MM. O. d'Araujo, A. Bonnet, Ad. Coste, H. Decugis, C. de Krauz, Alfred Lambert, Ch. Limousin and H. Monin, associates. Besides these, MM. Fr. Guier de los Rios, Vice-President; P. Dorado and Lester Ward, members; F. Puglia and R. de la Grasserie, associates of the Institute, sent written communications. About one hundred and fifty persons, of whom many were members of various learned societies and a certain number students, attended the first session.

This session comprised in the first place, following the usage of each congress, the opening address by the President and a reply by the General Secretary. Then, M. Ludwig Stein, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Berne, read an article treating of the definition of sociology. In conclusion, M. le Baron R. Garofalo, chief of the legislative department in the Italian Ministry of Justice, gave a résumé of a study entitled "The Individual Brain and the Social Brain," which was vigorously discussed by MM. Limousin, de Krauz, Monin, Tarde, Novicow and the author of the paper.

On the following morning, July 22, at nine o'clock, the two most extensive papers submitted to the congress were read. One, presented in the name of M. Lester Ward, of the Columbian University of Washington, was entitled "Pain and Pleasure Economy," which called forth remarks from MM. Novicow and Espinas. The other related to "The Sociological Importance of Economic Studies of the Colonies," and was presented by M. Achille Loria, Professor of Political Economy at the University of Padua. This paper was discussed by MM. René Worms, Monin, Steinmetz, to whom M. Loria replied.

In the afternoon of the same day, at two o'clock, a debate was opened on a topic which was expected to be the chief theme of the congress: "The Organic Theory of Society." One fact is worthy of remark; instantly this question assumed unexpected dimensions. At our first congress, each speaker was at liberty to choose his topic; at the second, five principal topics of discussion were fixed in advance; for the third, the same liberty as obtained at the first congress was granted. But it was found that in the natural tendency of things the discussions were brought to bear on one central point. From the first day the papers and speeches constantly brought up for examination the organic theory. It commenced officially Thursday evening. M. J. Novicow from Odessa read a paper favoring this theory. Following this there was a paper by the President, M. de Lilienfeld, who based on the same principles a system of graphical representation of social phenomena. M. G. Tarde attacked the conclusions of his two colleagues, and presented in opposition to the organic theory a psychological theory of social life. These various speakers having held the attention of those present during the four hours' session, a continuation of the discussion was placed on the program for the following afternoon.

Friday, July 23, at two o'clock in the afternoon, M. le Baron Casimir de Krauz attacked the organic theory and defended as opposed to it a theory of economic materialism. M. L. Stein agreed with the critics

of the organic theory and presented the principles of the historic and psychogenetic method of research. The present writer, on the contrary, tried to show something of the exactness and utility of the analogy between organisms and society. M. S. R. Steinmetz, Privatdozent at the University of Utrecht, vigorously opposed this analogy. M. C. N. Starcke, Privatdozent at the University of Copenhagen; M. le Baron Garofalo, M. Ch. Limousin each in turn made various reservations in their acceptance of the organic theory. M. N. Karéief, Professor at the University of St. Petersburg, showed that this theory shared, together with Darwin's social theory, economic materialism and social psychic theories, the fate of all exclusive theories. Professor Espinas, of the Sorbonne, said that in order to solve the question it was necessary to make a distinction between organisms in general and *blastodèmes*, living beings which possess vasculary communication between their parts. Societies are not *blastodèmes*; but it is necessary to maintain that they constitute organisms if one does not wish to abandon altogether the idea of social life and social laws. Following MM. Tarde, de Krauz and Stein, M. Novicow again took up the discussion and endeavored to show that the arguments of his adversaries had not undermined his conviction in favor of the organic theory.

This memorable debate was closed after having occupied two afternoons, in which the ardor of the vigorous champions of diverse doctrines had been uninterruptedly sustained by the rare attention of a remarkably well informed and serious audience. We can say truly that the most widely varying opinions were freely expressed and brought forward by representatives well authorized to speak for the different points of view. Without doubt it is not possible to propose a solution which will find acceptance on all sides, but at least this collection of ideas and opinions constitutes the most complete discussion which exists on this question, and henceforth anyone who wishes to treat the problem profoundly in its different aspects will have to consult the volume which will appear containing these proceedings.

In order to give a consecutive account of this controversial debate we omitted to speak of a session which intervened, namely, that of Friday morning, the twenty-third of July. Three technical papers were read; one by M. Starcke, upon "The Laws of Political Evolution;" the second by M. Steinmetz, upon "Corollary Selection;" the last by M. Raoul de la Grasserie, upon "The Evolution of the Idea of Monarchy."

Saturday, July 24, was the last day of the congress. Its two sessions were well attended. In the morning we listened to a report

by M. Pedro Dorado, Professor of Criminal Law at the University of Salamanca, treating of the future mission of criminal justice. This paper was discussed by MM. F. Puglia, René Worms, de Krauz, Novicow, de Lilienfeld, d'Araujo and Espinas. Following this there was a communication from M. Alfred Lambert upon "The Social Obligation for Relief," which called forth some discussion from MM. Emile Worms, Limousin, Stein, and a reply by the author.

In the afternoon we listened to a paper on "Experiment in Sociology" and to a résumé of several other papers which were not presented by the authors in person. After a few closing remarks by the General Secretary and the President the congress was declared closed. A business session of the officers of the Institute was held immediately after, at which time it was decided to hold a congress in Paris in 1900, and to empower the Executive Committee to convoke another congress in the meantime in some other city if circumstances seem to demand it. The election of members for the executive committees for the succeeding years was then provided for and it was decided that at the next congress two main questions would be submitted for discussion, namely, the question of the clan, and, secondly, of economic materialism. Some minor changes were made in the organization of the Institute and some new associates of the Institute were elected.

Such was then in brief the third congress. An eminent Russian sociologist who had been present at the two preceding congresses, M. Novicow, said that in his opinion it was the most animated and brilliant of the three. We have been able in this brief and impersonal report only to mention the names of the speakers and the subjects of their papers. Within a few months the fourth volume of the Annals of the International Institute of Sociology, which will contain the papers and discussions of this congress, will be issued, and we hope in this way that those who were not able to be present at the congress will be able to share in its results and will be convinced of the fact that its labors have contributed to the advancement of social science.

RÉNÉ WORMS.

Paris.

(Translated by Samuel McCune Lindsay.)

NOTES ON MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

New York.—*Civil Service.* The decision of the New York Court of Appeals interpreting the constitutional provision requiring competitive examinations wherever practicable for all positions to the civil service, state and local, must be regarded as a severe setback to the advancement of civil service reform. In reversing the decision of the Supreme Court and the unanimous decision of the Appellate Division, the Court of Appeals has laid itself open to much criticism. The case in question, arose through a suit brought by Simeon B. Chittenden and other citizens of Brooklyn against the mayor, comptroller and other fiscal officers, to restrain payment of salary to certain employes who had been appointed since the first of January, 1895. The plaintiffs contended that these positions came within the constitutional rule requiring competitive examinations.

Justice Keogh of the Supreme Court decided in favor of the plaintiffs. An appeal was taken to the Appellate Division, in which the opinion of the lower court was unanimously sustained. The decision of these two lower courts is of special interest, owing to the fact that for the first time a constitutional provision was declared to be self-executory, even in the absence of legislative enactments providing for its enforcement. "The Constitution," the court said, "is the basic and fundamental law. To this ultimate and supreme mandate of the people, declared by its delegates in convention assembled, it is the duty of all departments of the state government, executive, legislative and judicial, to bow instant obedience. It is our duty to interpret it reasonably and firmly in the questions involved in this appeal." The court goes on to cite with approval an opinion of Judge O'Brien:* "If the legislature should repeal all the statutes and regulations on the subject of appointments in the civil service, the mandate of the Constitution would still remain and would so far execute itself as to require the courts, in a proper case, to pronounce appointments made without compliance with its requirements illegal." In its conclusion, the court states that the evidence proves that the positions under consideration were such that appointments to the same could be made on the basis of competitive examinations, and that the action of the mayor

* People vs. Roberts, 13 Miscellaneous Reports, New York, 448, 91 Hunter, 101; 148 New York, 360.

of Brooklyn "in placing such positions in the non-competitive class and requiring them to be filled therefrom without competitive examination, is illegal and as such is subject to review by this court."

The Court of Appeals in reversing the decision of the lower court takes the ground that the clause in the Constitution which requires that appointments and promotions "shall be made according to merit and fitness to be ascertained so far as practicable by examinations which, so far as practicable, shall be competitive," excludes positions of a confidential nature from the rule. The court, however, refuses to lay down any rules of distinction between confidential and non-confidential positions; that such classification must be determined either by statute or through the regulation of persons entrusted with the execution of such statute. In this case the duty of classification devolved upon the mayor of the city of Brooklyn, and in the absence of any evidence of corruption or dishonesty must be regarded as final. "It is not pretended," says the court, "that the mayor was corrupt, dishonest, or that he was actuated by improper motives in making the classification. The duty devolved upon him under the statute;* and, until the contrary appears, we must presume that he acted conscientiously and upon his best judgment. Such a classification is not void; it may be voidable, for his action is subject to review; but until it is judicially determined that his classification was erroneous, it is a protection to subordinates and employes acting thereunder."

The eleven offices which were in question in this case were subordinate places in the finance department. The act of 1883 specifically excepted from the civil service rules those officials for whose action a superior is responsible; those holding confidential positions, and employes of educational departments. These excepted positions the court has maintained. The decision of the Appellate Department of the Supreme Court, in declaring the constitutional clause self-executory, is impliedly reversed by the Court of Appeals in these terms: "The duty rests upon the legislature and the courts to enforce the civil service provisions of the Constitution in their letter and spirit. We doubt not that at an early date the legislature will supplement the existing civil service laws by such additional enactments as will cover all the civil divisions of the state, including villages, and furnishing a complete system for carrying out the mandates of the Constitution." This means that the application of the competitive examination system is a matter for the legislature

* That is under the civil service law enacted prior to the adoption of the constitutional amendment.

to provide, and that until such an act is passed, the constitutional clause represents a declaration of principle rather than a self-executory enactment.

*New York City Citizens' Union.** At a recent meeting of the "committee of organization," which is the large central body of the Citizens' Union, it was decided that the Union should be organized as a permanent municipal party. A committee to report a plan for permanent organization was appointed. The general sentiment among those who were active either in the general work of the Union or in the work in assembly districts is, that organized work should be begun immediately in preparation for the next municipal election. While all the candidates of the Union for the principal offices were defeated, five or six of its candidates for the state assembly, and four or five of its candidates for the board of aldermen, were elected. In some cases the result is still in doubt; and two or three of the Union's candidates have carried their contests into the courts. These contests have shown, in a striking manner, the many serious defects in the election law, imposed upon the voters of the state by the Republican machine in 1895. It is of great importance that this law should be simplified and improved in many points before the next municipal election. The facts developed in these contests and the reports of the watchers who represented the Union at the polling places on election day, indicate that, while Tammany had a large plurality of the votes cast, the difference between the vote for Low and the vote for Van Wyck was not as great, by perhaps thirty thousand, as the difference shown on the official returns. Evidently a law under which this is possible would constitute a grave danger in the event of a very close election.

Brooklyn.—Street Railways. A recent decision of the Court of Appeals of New York has thrown consternation into local railway circles. It has been the practice of the railway companies to lease or rent these privileges, or a portion of them, to other companies. So far as railway connections are concerned, the state law specifies that roads may be allowed to make connections between two adjoining divisions for a distance of 1000 feet over the track of another company on payment of rental. The new constitution, however, provides in Section XVIII, Article 3, that "No law shall authorize the construction or operation of a street railroad, except upon the condition that the consent of the owners of one-half in value of the property bounded on, and the consent also of the local authorities having the control of that portion of a street or highway upon

* Communication of James W. Pryor, Esq.

which it is proposed to construct and operate such road, be first obtained." Construing this section of the Constitution, the Court of Appeals holds that a franchise granted to one company, which has complied with all the formalities, does not permit it to grant any privileges along its line to any other company. "When the municipal authorities," says the court, "consented that the respondent might operate its road through Broadway, they do not consent that any company might operate a distinct and separate road through that street. It is not the laying of the tracks but the running of cars that constitutes the chief burden both upon the street and the property of the abutting owners. Consent to the burden of one road should, in reason, be limited to that road, with whatever increase of business it may have; but it should not be extended to as many roads as can crowd their cars into operation on that street. It would be an unreasonable construction to hold that this is what the public authorities or the private citizens intend when they consent to the building and operation of a street railroad. Instead of an advantage to the public or to those owning property on the street, which is the inducement to obtain consent, it might result in an unexpected burden upon both, without any power to prevent it, and yet with no intention to consent to it. . . . We think that when consent is given, either in behalf of the public or the abutting owners, to one company, it is for its own use and not for the use of an indefinite number of other companies, regardless of the interests of the city or of the owners of the property on the street."

The full bearing of this decision upon the operations of the various companies is at present difficult to foresee. Unless some arrangement can be made by which the formalities prescribed by the court can be complied with, it is probable that the only satisfactory solution will be in consolidation. A movement for consolidation of the four great trolley companies was begun some years ago, but failed of success. It is probable, however, that under the pressure of the present decision another effort will be made.

Gas Works. The Brooklyn Municipal Club, an organization composed of a number of leading citizens of that city, has just published its first bulletin dealing with corporate rights and the public, and private ownership and operation of gas plants. In this publication special attention is given to the recent lease of the Philadelphia gas works to a private corporation. The consolidation of the different Brooklyn gas companies is also described. After a period of competition between various companies, the usual result was reached, viz., that of agreement, upon which consolidation soon

followed. In November, 1895, the plan of union was formally approved by the stockholders of the seven larger companies. The details of consolidation are well described in the bulletin in the following terms: "In September of the present year the Brooklyn Union Gas Company was organized for the purpose of buying out the old companies and controlling the entire business of the city. It was to have a capital of \$15,000,000 and was to issue bonds to the same amount. The capital stock of the seven independent companies was only \$10,220,000, and their bonded debt but \$3,282,000. Of the old companies the Brooklyn had a capital of \$2,000,000; the Metropolitan, a capital of \$870,000; the Fulton-Municipal, a capital of \$2,100,000; the Citizens', a capital of \$2,000,000; the Williamsburgh, a capital of \$1,000,000; the Nassau, a capital of \$1,250,000, and the People's, a capital of \$1,000,000. The holders of the stock in these companies were to receive \$14,213,077 of the Brooklyn Union stock in return for the \$10,220,000 in stock which they held, and in addition they were to receive bonds of the new company to the amount of \$10,120,245. The remainder of the issue of \$15,000,000 was to be used in taking up the bonds of the old companies to the amount of \$3,282,000 and for other purposes, and it is believed that the difference between the stock given to the old stockholders and the total issue was given as commissions to the men who engineered the scheme. The total obligations of the old companies in the way of stock and bonds were \$13,502,000. The total obligations of the new company which has absorbed the old ones are \$30,000,000."

It is a significant fact that even with this inflated valuation the company is able to earn large profits. At the present time the stock is selling between 123 and 127, and this in spite of the fact that under the new Wray law the company has contracted with the city to reduce the price five cents each year until it reaches one dollar. The present price is \$1.20 per thousand cubic feet.

Philadelphia.—Gas Lease. In spite of the vigorous opposition of the various reform organizations the ordinance accepting the terms of the United Gas Improvement Company's lease has been passed by both branches of councils and approved by the mayor. The signing of the contract was postponed in order to give the organizations, and individuals opposed to the lease, an opportunity to test its validity in the courts. Bills of equity were filed by two of the competing companies, as well as a certain number of citizens interested as taxpayers, to prevent the consummation of the lease.

The petitioners claimed that the leasing of the gas works is an attempt by the city of Philadelphia to grant to the United Gas

Improvement Company an exclusive privilege within the territorial limits of the city, and, therefore, unconstitutional; that it is, furthermore, an attempt by the said city to bargain away the right of subsequent councils of the city to pass ordinances touching matters which may be required for the well being of its citizens; that in agreeing to this lease the city is, in effect, contracting not to exercise its police power. Furthermore, that the charter of the city vests the control of the gas works in the executive department, and that the lease is, therefore, contrary to the provisions of the charter and that it works a transfer of the possession of the gas works to a private corporation. Finally one of the holders of gas works bonds maintained that in parting with the works, one of the conditions of the contract for the payment of the bonds was being violated.

The decision of the court rendered on November 30, refusing to grant a preliminary injunction, holds that the matter of leasing the gas works is under the control of councils and is not a question for the court to consider. "The duties of councils in this matter are deliberative and discretionary, and their decision is not subject to the revision of the court. The manufacture of gas is not a municipal duty, but a power merely. Being therefore a power merely and not a duty, the means of exercising the power must of necessity be left to the discretion of the legislative body." Furthermore, "the maxim of the law that a delegated power cannot be delegated has no application in this case. The Philadelphia gas works is not a department of the city government. It is the private business of the City of Philadelphia and not the business of the legislature which chartered the city; hence, there is no delegation of a governmental power imposed by the legislature on the city, but merely a choice of the means of carrying on a business. The truth really is, that, having the power it has a right to select the means of exercising the power and may do so either by manufacturing and furnishing gas by its own employes, or by means of a private corporation chartered for that purpose." The court furthermore considers the objection that was raised that in parting with the gas works the city was impairing the guarantee of bondholders of the gas works. The court admits the requirement of a sinking fund for the payment of the bonds, but denies that the receipts from the gas works "were impressed with any trust so far as the collection and custody of them were concerned." The receipts from the gas works were not kept separate from other receipts of the city, and, therefore, do not become impressed with any trust or pledge until appropriation is made for this specific purpose by councils.

Immediately after the decision the mayor closed the contract with the company, which then took charge of the financial management of the works. The entire plant will be handed over on the first of January. It is probable however that the contest will be carried to the Supreme Court of the state.

Citizens' Union. The influence of the independent movement in New York City has already begun to make itself felt in the large cities of the United States. The most recent manifestation of this tendency is shown in the organization of an independent Citizens' Union in Philadelphia. This Union is composed of men of all shades of political opinion for the purpose of securing the nomination and election of a mayor and city officials whose only claim to office shall be fitness to fulfill the duties of the same. The Union has already effected a permanent organization upon a liberal basis, inviting people of all classes and shades of opinion to co-operate. The principles of the Union have been embodied in a platform of which the following is a summary:

First.—That civil service provisions be strictly enforced.

Second.—That the city retain the ownership and absolute control of all natural monopolies, and that no leases of city property and franchises shall be granted except for short periods.

Third.—That all contracts for municipal work be impartially awarded.

Fourth.—That a higher standard be enforced in the performance of municipal services.

Fifth.—That the election laws be revised.

Sixth.—That to attain these ends citizens must be willing to consider municipal questions and candidates on their own merits.

Boston.*—Unicameral City Legislature. The referendum on the act of the General Court amending the city charter by substituting a unicameral city council for the present bicameral body resulted in the rejection of the measure by an adverse majority of more than 7000 votes. About 7000 of the voters who cast their ballot for governor did not vote on this question. Municipal reformers were divided as to the expediency of the measure. Although the change was advocated by the Municipal League, there was a difference of opinion on the question among the members of that organization.

Street Railway Consolidation.—The great scheme for municipal transit, making a combination of the proposed elevated railway system and the present surface system operated by the West End

*Communication of Sylvester Baxter, Esq.

Street Railway Company, for which elaborate preparations have been in hand for several months, has been brought to a sudden and unexpected halt by the refusal of the Railroad Commission to approve the terms of the lease of the West End Company to the Boston Elevated Railroad Company. The two corporations are substantially identical, so that the lease, in effect, was a bargain of certain individuals, acting in one capacity, made with themselves acting in another capacity. The lease was disapproved on the ground that it was adverse to public interests, particularly in the guarantee of an 8 per cent annual dividend on the West End common stock and in making the lease for a term of ninety-nine years. The document in which the views of the commission were set forth at length is a strikingly strong and able one and the position taken is backed by a strong public sentiment. The feeling in favor of public ownership and operation of municipal transit services has become strong in this community.

Should the disapproval of the West End lease result in permanently blocking the plans for the proposed transit system—that is, in case the promoters of the project should not be able to gain their wishes from the General Court of 1898 and secure desired amendments to the law—the Boston Transit Commission, which is constructing the new subway and the new bridge across the Charles River between the city proper and Charlestown, is authorized to build for the city an elevated railway line between the southerly terminus of the subway and Franklin Park. After meeting the cost of the subway construction, which comes well within the original estimates there will be something like \$2,000,000 available for this purpose.

Two divisions of the new subway are now in successful operation. It more than meets public expectations. It is clean, comfortable, light and well ventilated. Local transit has been greatly expedited and the congestion of the streets that existed for years has disappeared. Much inconvenience was experienced for some weeks in consequence of the retention on the surface of several important lines that properly belonged in the subway. There was a feeling that this was a move on the part of the street-railway company to retain possession of the surface tracks whose removal had been directed by law as soon as the entire subway should be completed. The Transit Commission, however, ordered the company to remove a turnout at the Granary Burying-Ground terminal, and this speedily remedied the trouble, for it compelled the transfer of the lines in question to the subway. The entire subway system will be ready for traffic next summer.

Public Baths.—The novel experiment tried at Revere Beach by the Metropolitan Park Commission, in the operation of a great oceanside bathing establishment, has met with complete success. A large bath-house of a handsome architectural design was erected by the commission last summer. It contains a thousand dressing-rooms together with accommodations for checking a very large number of bicycles. Instead of leasing the concession the commission undertook the direct operation of the establishment. First-class bathing-suits of a uniform pattern are supplied and elaborate means for washing and drying these were adopted. The charge for the use of the dressing-rooms, together with bathing-suit and towel, was first set at twenty-five cents, the same charge previously made by private individuals for very inferior accommodations. There was a strong objection made to this rate, however, and the fee was reduced to fifteen cents. The bath-house was opened on August 1, and closed on September 19. During that period the number of bathers was 62,175; the receipts were a little more than \$10,000, and the expenses were a few hundred dollars over that figure.

Parks. Another great metropolitan park improvement, the beautiful Mystic Valley Parkway, was opened to the public in September. The parkway runs from the centre of Winchester to Medford, on the northeasterly shores of the Mystic lakes. Its extension to connect with other portions of the metropolitan and municipal park systems is proposed.

Water Supply. The new metropolitan water system for Greater Boston will begin operation on January 1, 1898, the date fixed upon when the plans were first made. This system brings the water of the Nashua River to reinforce the present supplies of the various municipalities of Greater Boston, which are to come into the possession of the Metropolitan Water Board on January 1. The new system will not be completed for several years to come, but the supply now available will be adequate to the needs of the metropolitan water district for the near future.

Town Government. The suburb of Melrose, having grown well past the limit of 12,000 inhabitants required for a city in Massachusetts, has been considering the question of changing its form of government and applying for a city charter. At a special election lately held, there was a decided majority in favor of retaining the town government. There appears to be a growing reluctance to give up the pure democracy of the town form, with its complete referendum and initiative privileges. Brookline still retains its town government and finds it not at all inconvenient.

Buffalo.—*Gas Works.** A new gas company has been lately incorporated at Albany with a capital of \$7,000,000, which is intended to absorb the three companies now existing—the Citizens', the Buffalo and the Queen City. It has acquired all the stock of the first named, and there is no doubt that the other two will speedily go the same way. The new corporation, it is said, will at once issue bonds to an amount equal to its capital stock, and the public will have to pay both interest on the one and dividends on the other. Under these circumstances it seems vain to expect either an improvement in the quality of gas or a reduction in price, unless the city undertakes the business itself. It is said that the entire existing gas-plant could be duplicated for not more than \$3,500,000. This gives fresh interest to the subject of municipal ownership of natural monopolies.

Non-Partisanship in Municipal Elections. Considerable progress toward non-partisanship in municipal government has been made during the last few years. The recent election was the first since the new state constitution took effect in which no state or national issues were at stake, and the most frantic appeals from the press to vote on national party lines were disregarded by the voters. The influence of the Good Government Clubs was very apparent in the results, the candidates on both regular tickets approved, were elected with few exceptions.

At present there is considerable public interest in the subject of direct nominations by the people, without the intervention of caucuses and conventions. A candidate nominated in this way for a ward office in one of the wards was successful—though the fact that he received in addition the nomination of one of the regular parties, may account for his election.

Pottsville.†—*Taxpayers' Association of Schuylkill County.* The work of this association has been done heretofore in the line of road and school tax. As regards roads, under the law known as the Losch Road Bill separate taxpayers may petition court for right to make roads in townships, provided other taxpayers join in the payment. The officials elected by townships are paid their fixed salaries, *i. e.*, the supervisor, auditor's clerk, solicitor. The balance of money is spent on the roads, accounts audited annually, and consequently no money is allowed to be wasted, thus reducing the road taxes sometimes as much as fifty per cent. This was made necessary by the

*Communication of A. L. Richardson, Esq.

†As an instance of the increasingly important role of voluntary organizations in maintaining control over public officials, the experience of the Schuylkill County Taxpayers Association seems particularly valuable. We print the communication of its executive officer William L. Sheaffer, Esq.

extravagant, loose, and illegal methods adopted by officials over whom there was no control, except in the final audit.

In *school* affairs, the accounts are now audited every month and illegal matters exposed. Up to the present time four township school boards have been brought to trial for illegal practices. Among these abuses may be mentioned assessments on teachers, sales of books and supplies at outrageous figures, directors interested in contracts, etc. This has tended to reduce the school tax.

Heretofore the county tax, which covers also the almshouse and prison accounts has been left without any examination, further than that made by a board of auditors, which was usually merely formal and which at present the controller is supposed to do. The continual increase in expense in all accounts, the increase in salaries and number of people employed to do the work, and a consequent increase in tax rates for county purposes finally led to an examination of the ways of transacting business in county affairs. This led to the formation of a Committee of Seven who have the county and poor accounts under their charge, and the past six months or more have been spent in this work. They have only examined the County Commissioners' and Controller's offices and have found evidences of fraud in connection with several public works such as the jail and almshouse improvements. Criminal proceeding for conspiracy have been brought against the County Commissioners, Controller, and Commissioners' clerk.

In addition to this work, they have examined the list of recipients of outdoor relief, comprising some eleven hundred names, receiving between \$45,000 and \$50,000 annually from the county. In this list over three hundred and twenty-five persons were reported as owning property, working, dead, removed, etc. To-day's list is less than seven hundred and fifty, a saving of over \$17,500 a year. They are now examining the indoor poor-house accounts and find the same extravagance and lack of business methods. This gives an idea of the work. It seems to be endless but it must result in a great reduction of expense.

SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES.

Investigation of Dispossessed Tenants in New York City.*—

Early in February of last year the University Settlement of New York City was given a check of about \$1200 for relief work, this sum having been apportioned to it in the final settling up of the books of the Citizen's Relief Committee of 1893-94. The amount being small it was finally concluded that it could perhaps be most profitably devoted to the relief of deserving families who were in danger of being dispossessed for non-payment of rent. Accordingly arrangements were made with the street cleaning department whereby extra men, paid by the settlement, were to be put at work on the streets. In only exceptional cases was it proposed to relieve families without a labor equivalent for the payment of the rent. A resident of the settlement, with volunteers assisting him, was placed in charge of the investigation of families served with dispossess papers in one judicial district and upon his decision as to the worthiness or unworthiness and general conditions of each family rested the question of money, or work, relief, or refusal of all relief. Originally, therefore, the investigation was simply conducted as a means of disposing in the best way of the money entrusted to the settlement. But soon the value of the investigation in itself, and for other purposes, in revealing the relations between tenant and landlord and the economic conditions of the poorer class of tenement house dwellers, began to interest the settlement and other societies.

It was realized that here was a field which had been scarcely touched, even by relief giving societies, owing in large part to a traditional policy of "no relief" in questions of the payment of rent. Whether the landlords should be more lenient or the tenants more honest, whether the courts were too kind or too severe, whether rent-dodging was a great evil or the willful hallucination of grudging proprietors, whether rent could be paid or not—all these questions of such vital importance and interest to a complete under-

* Contributed by Francis H. McLean, Fellow in Sociology, University of Pennsylvania.

standing of tenement house life had been so far left the prey of whim and dogmatic statement, unsupported by relevant facts.

From a growing realization of these things, therefore, the investigation assumed a larger aspect and the conclusions finally attained are of considerable scientific interest. The sum held in trust by the settlement lasted for about two months, over the worst part of the winter. Then the Charity Organization Society took up the work, engaging the resident who had had charge of it from the beginning, and it was continued until September 1. The report of the entire investigation is contained in the annual report of the Charity Organization Society, recently issued.

Monthly payment of rent is the almost universal custom in New York City. Generally a tenant is obliged to pay his first month when moving into rooms, but after that there is no hard and fast rule for advance payments, though some landlords insist upon them and will force a tenant to leave if he does not come to time on the first of each month. But most of the owners are more lenient. Unfortunately the report does not have any figures regarding the number of months in arrears each tenant was who was served with dispossession papers. But from the whole tenor of the report it is safe to say that the varying practices of varying landlords and the different practices of the same landlord show most striking contrasts. It is certain that the personal likes or dislikes of the house-keeper are an element in the decisions of landlords. The chief fault which the investigator finds with the landlords is their lack of discretion. He writes, "Though I cannot urge landlords in general to be either more lenient or more strict, I urge them all as strongly as possible to learn more about their tenants; to learn something about their past before they rent their rooms, and to watch them carefully from month to month, or better from week to week."

In the Fifth Judicial District, where the investigations continued during the whole seven months, the number of dispossession complaints sworn to in court ranged from 100 to 250 per week. The population of this district was estimated to be 230,812, in 1894, by the Board of Health. In the Fourth Judicial District in which investigations were made for only the last four months, the weekly number was about the same. The population of this district according to the same authority is 207,367. No attempt was made to visit all this vast number of cases. As far as possible all instances in which dispossession was apparently asked for on other grounds than non-payment of rent were eliminated, though many such cases were found among those investigated. In general there was no selection—

the cases were visited at random—so that the results should be at least typical.

Of the entire 2603 families visited 362 had moved before the investigators came. Of the remaining 2241, 431 were found in need of relief and 454 of time only. The percentage of cases needing relief for the various months is given as follows:

February 4 to April 8,	20
April 20 to April 30,	12.7.
May,	14.2.
June,	21.
July,	12.8.
August,	9.4.

The large percentage for June is accounted for by the tailors' strike, then in progress. A word of explanation may be required regarding the 454 considered worthy of time only. In dispossess cases the court can grant from one to five days to the tenant to move out. Whenever it was thought that the tenant was honest and would in a few days be able to pay his rent or part of it and arrange a compromise with his landlord the investigators recommended to the judges, who relied much on their decisions, the full limit of the law; and in this way saved many respectable families from the shame of eviction, dispossess papers in many cases having been served simply as the result of a quarrel with a landlord or house-keeper.

But what of the 1356 families out of a total of 2241—just sixty per cent—who were found in need neither of relief nor of time? This represents laziness, viciousness and sheer dishonesty. Just how much is rent-dodging, how much personal animosity, and how much personal character, cannot be told from the figures in the report. But we are informed that "for the good of tenants and landlords alike more than half of those dispossessed probably should have been dispossessed more promptly."

It became very early apparent that rent-dodging was figuring largely on the returns, and it was hoped that the investigation would result in improving conditions in this regard. But these expectations were not realized. "But though," explains the investigator, "we heard that 'since they're investigating around, 't'ain't no longer possible to get time from the judge,' we did not to any marked degree decrease the length of time rent-dodgers live rent free. Though we convinced the judge that a certain tenant deserved no extension of time; and he told the landlord that he could get the warrant to evict this tenant at once, yet this landlord generally did not evict him for several days; he would not pay a marshal two

dollars or more to put the goods on the sidewalk until he believed he could not otherwise within a few days get possession of his rooms. Several landlords waited ten days or two weeks before evicting tenants for whom I had recommended to the judge no extension of time. Further, the five days which at most the judge can give are but a short time as compared with the two weeks, or perhaps the two or the five months, for which the landlord collects no rent before he sends the dispossession notice, plus the week or two for which the tenant has to pay no rent in his new rooms. Hence, in so far as we hope to prevent rent-dodging, and to increase the length of time tenants would live and pay rent in the same rooms, and so by increasing the part of the year for which the landlord receives rent to reduce the rent charged—in so far we were disappointed."

In conclusion the investigator states his belief that in times when there is considerable employment the investigation and relief of the worthy families in danger of eviction is wise and profitable—it not only saves respectable people from this first step downward, but in many cases prevents their becoming acquainted with the ordinary relief agencies, and thereby losing something of self-reliance.

But more important perhaps is the emphatic recommendation for a change in rent collection and policy. "I urge weekly payments," so reads the report, "of rent, instead of monthly payments throughout tenement houses, as now in model tenements, for the laborer could pay one dollar and a half or two dollars out of each week's wage at once to the landlord far more easily than he can accumulate six or eight dollars, in a month. And I urge landlords to insist on payments at the beginning of each week from all tenants, except those in whose families there is sickness. Even when out of work they should pay their rent out of what they have saved while at work, and in times of unusual distress, or of strikes, from what they get from relief funds or strike funds."

Philadelphia Public Baths.—Early in 1895, the *ANNALS* reported the organization of the Public Baths Association of Philadelphia and its plans for the future.

By the erection of its first public bath and laundry at the corner of Gaskill and Leithgow streets, between Fourth and Fifth, and Lombard and South streets, in one of the oldest and most thickly populated sections of the city, these plans are soon to become realities.

Early in September last ground was broken and the structure is now nearing completion and will be opened to the public early

* Contributed by Mr. Franklin B. Kirkbride.

in the spring. The building covers a lot 40 feet by 60 feet, is built of hard red brick laid in Flemish bond with dark mortar, and is two and one-half stories high. The construction is of brick and iron and the floors of the baths and laundry are to be of concrete.

Half of the basement is to be fitted up as a public laundry where women can do their family washing on the payment of a small fee, and where the towels used in the baths will also be washed. The basement floor is five feet below the street level, and the laundry, a room 23 by 37 feet, lighted by three large windows, is reached by a stairway leading from the women's hall on the first floor. The room is to be fitted with six sets of tubs, twelve drying closets, ironing tables, a laundry stove, soap boiler, power washer and wringer, and a disinfecting tank to contain the towels thrown down through the towel chutes from the floors above. The room will be light and airy, covered with a cement floor and will be provided with a lavatory. The remainder of the basement will be occupied by the boiler and engine room. It can be reached either from the stairway leading down from the first floor or by a side door on Leithgow street. It will contain an 83 horse-power Harrison safety boiler, two Worthington pumps, a feed water heater, hot water generator, blow-off tank, heater and fan, and an engine to run the laundry machinery. The coal and ash pits will be on the Leithgow street side of the room, while the smoke stack rises from an opposite corner. The hot water generator will have a capacity of 2000 gallons per hour, and the fan will provide forced ventilation for every part of the building.

Two entrances on Gaskill street lead into the first floor of the building. The women's entrance opens into a hall, from which a stairway leads down to the laundry and up to the women's baths on the second floor. The other entrance leads directly into the men's waiting room, a large and airy room lighted by ample windows, wainscoted in pine, and provided with wooden benches. An office so situated as to overlook both this room and the women's hallway is located between the men's waiting room and women's entrance and a single person will be able to take in money and give out towels and soap to both sets of customers, although each department is entirely separate.

From the men's waiting room one enters the men's baths. This department is supplied with twenty-six shower baths, the ring shower being the form adopted, one tub, two water-closets, two urinals and one hand-basin. Allowing twenty minutes to each bather this provides facilities for more than nine hundred baths a day. There will be no swimming pool in the building, shower

baths being used instead. In this respect the example of the People's and Baron de Hirsch Fund Baths of New York, and the overwhelming testimony of medical experts as to the comparative merits of the two systems are being followed. The baths are separated by iron partitions seven feet high, painted white, and over each compartment is stretched a network of heavy wire. The room is lighted on one side by a row of windows above the tops of the baths, and on the opposite side by a skylight and windows, thus securing ample light and thorough ventilation.

The bather enters an outer dressing room about four feet square, and beyond this and separated from it by a swinging iron door, is the inner compartment of the same size, where the shower, supplied with both hot and cold water, is located. The floors of the dressing rooms and baths slope inward and drain into a gutter running along the back of the baths. The partitions between the baths being from three to six inches above the concrete floor, the entire room can be flushed out with ease. The arrangement of the dressing rooms and bathing compartments insures privacy for each bather, and the simplicity of their construction will greatly aid in keeping them pure and clean.

From the women's hallway, on the first floor, stairs lead to the women's waiting room on the second story. This room opens into the women's baths, which are supplied with fourteen showers, three tubs and two water-closets. They are to have a capacity about one-third less than that of the men's department. The room is lighted by a central skylight as well as by small windows on either side above the tops of the bathing compartments.

On the Gaskill street front of the second floor are two rooms fitted up for the use of the janitor, and above these rooms is the tank loft, where two tanks of 3000 gallons capacity each will furnish the building with its water supply.

The plans of the building were prepared by Louis E. Marié, architect, of the firm of Furness, Evans & Co., and are the result of a careful study of the plans of foreign bathing establishments, and of the experience of the People's Baths in New York, the Yonker's Municipal and other baths.

It is proposed to charge each bather a small fee, probably five cents, for the use of the bath, towel and soap, and if the same success attend these baths as the People's Baths in New York, they should become nearly self-supporting.

The Public Baths Association is still engaged in raising the funds for the construction of its building. The land was purchased for \$5750, and the erection of the bath house and laundry will cost

\$22,000 more. Of this sum \$8000 remains to be collected. Donations should be sent to the treasurer of the association at 517 Chestnut street, Philadelphia.

The officers of the Public Baths Association of Philadelphia are as follows: Board of Trustees, Eugene Delano, president; Barclay H. Warburton, chairman of finance committee; Sarah D. Lowrie, secretary, 1827 Pine street; Franklin B. Kirkbride, treasurer, 517 Chestnut street; Charlemagne Tower, Jr.; Mrs. Hunt; Alfred G. Clay; Mrs. Perit Dulles; Mrs. John Sparhawk Jones; Rev. Walter Lowrie; Dr. Lawrence S. Smith.

Causes of Poverty.—The Committee on Statistics of the New York Charity Organization Society, composed of Professors Richmond Mayo Smith, Franklin H. Giddings and Mr. Fred. W. Holls, has attempted a statistical analysis of some of the more important cases treated by that society in recent years. The results have been published in the last annual report of the Charity Organization Society in New York City. The committee took 500 cases, most of them beginning in 1890, and followed the history of each case to date. These 500 cases made applications for relief in this period as follows:

500 applied only once.
 184 applied a second time.
 87 applied a third time.
 35 applied a fourth time.
 12 applied a fifth time.
 7 applied a sixth time.
 4 applied a seventh time.
 3 applied an eighth time.

832

The report goes on to say:

"It was somewhat difficult to distinguish what was a separate application. In many cases the treatment was continuous over several weeks or months; in other cases the committee simply continued the case until it finally disappeared. We have counted it as a separate case only when a definite period of time has elapsed between the last record and a new application from the individual. It is extremely difficult to say exactly when a case is closed. After aid has been given or work found, a district committee will often want to keep an eye on the family and see that it maintains its position. In many difficult cases it is almost absolutely necessary simply to keep them open in hope that something may turn up. There is no system of marking the cards to indicate when a case is really closed.

"The repetition of the cases shows a considerable amount of chronic pauperism, and the real amount is greater than the figures

indicate, for generally those that are repeated remain under treatment for a long time, while many of those which applied only once were simply temporarily embarrassed. We thought of counting the length of period during which each case was under treatment during each application, but the closing of a case is so uncertain, and the record so uncertain, that the experiment was unsuccessful."

In reference to the actual causes of poverty the report is more complete:

"The most interesting, and at the same time the most difficult, problem connected with an analysis of such cases as these is to determine the real cause of destitution. This is one of the most vexed questions among persons engaged in charitable or philanthropic enterprises. The causes of poverty are always complex, and so complex that they are generally incapable of analysis. Again, the causes are immediate or remote, and often the more remote causes are the most important. It requires great experience and intelligence on the part of workers in charity to give even approximately the fundamental reason why a certain family has come to destitution. To classify cases from records without personal knowledge of each case, and then simply to count the cases, is a very inadequate method of arriving at the truth. The primary difficulty, of course, is to reach a classification. The one adopted by Mr. Warner in his book on American charities is: (1) Causes indicating misconduct; (2) Causes indicating misfortune. Under the first head come drink, immorality, laziness, shiftlessness and inefficiency, crime and dishonesty, a roving disposition. Under the second head come lack of normal support, matters of employment, matters of personal capacity, such as sickness or death in family, etc. The trouble with such a classification is that one cause may lie behind another, as drink is often the cause of lack of employment, of sickness or accident. On the other hand, lack of employment may lead to drink, immorality or laziness. In many cases one form of misfortune leads to another, as sickness leads to lack of employment, or lack of employment leads to sickness; and most often various forms of misconduct, such as drink and shiftlessness, immorality and crime, are present in the same person. The personal equation of the investigator and of the tabulator has great influence in determining whether a particular case falls under the head of misfortune or misconduct. The influence of environment and heredity is disregarded in this classification. The whole subject is ably discussed by Mr. Warner in Chapter II of his book.

"With the limited number of cases that have been analyzed in this investigation, it would be impossible to expect any very con-

clusive results. We have endeavored, however, to make up for the small amount of the material by a careful and intelligent analysis, and by approaching the subject from three different points. We have first taken the alleged cause of distress—that is, the reason assigned by the person applying for relief. This, of course, will present the most favorable side, and the one most calculated to excite sympathy. The stress will be laid on misfortune rather than misconduct. The inquiry will be useful as indicating the most common kinds of misfortune. We have, secondly, tabulated the real cause of distress, as gathered by the tabulator from the whole record. This, of course, is the judgment of an outside party, and the emphasis will be laid upon misfortune or misconduct according to the disposition of the investigator. We have, thirdly, the character of the man and woman as gathered from the record. This is supplementary evidence as to the real cause of distress. We go on now to present these three points of view.

ALLEGED CAUSE OF DISTRESS.—SUPPLEMENTARY.

	Princi- pal.	Loss of work.	Sick- ness.	Drink.	Insuf- ficient earnings.	Other causes.
Loss of employment	313	. .	69	1	1	3
Sickness or accident	226	36	. .	1	12	7
Intemperance	25	10	4	. .	2	1
Insufficient earnings	52	. .	7	1	. .	. .
Physical defect or old age . .	45	2	5	1	1	1
Death of wage-earner	40	11	14	. .	4	1
Desertion	40	3	9	. .	4	2
Other causes and uncertain	103	2	3	. .	. .	1
Total	844	64	111	4	24	16

“In this table we consider not the total number of cases, but the total number of applications. . . . but for purposes of analysis this is of little consequence. The cause most frequently alleged is loss of employment, 37.1 per cent; next to that is sickness, 26.7 per cent. Of less consequence are insufficient earnings, physical defect or old age, death of the wage-earner and desertion.

“An attempt was made to follow the example of Mr. Booth and introduce supplementary causes as well as principal causes. About the only result, however, is that sickness often accompanies loss of employment, and that loss of employment often accompanies sickness or accident. It is clearly seen in this whole table how disposed applicants for relief are to attribute their distress to circumstances beyond their control.

“In the following table we have an attempt to analyze the real cause of distress, according to the judgment of the tabulator as

gathered from the full record. In chronic cases the same cause is apt to appear in the successive applications. It was thought that this might lead to undue accumulation of particular causes. A separate tabulation, therefore, was made for the 500 first applications, and then for the total—832 applications. The table is as follows:

THE REAL CAUSE OF DISTRESS.

	<i>First Applications.</i>		<i>Total Applications.</i>	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Lack of employment . . .	115	25.	184	22.1
Sickness or accident . . .	102	20.4	164	19.7
Physical defects or old age .	27	5.4	42	5.0
Death of wage-earner . . .	18	3.6	30	3.6
Desertion	15	3.	24	2.9
Intemperance	87	17.4	166	19.9
Shiftlessness	50	10.	101	12.2
No need	86	17.2	121	14.6
Total	500	100.0	832	100.0

"In this table it will be seen that emphasis is laid on misconduct rather than on misfortune. The difference between a person's judgment of the cause of his misfortune and another person's is shown by contrasting the following figures:

	Alleged cause.	Real cause.	Alleged cause.	Real cause.
Lack of employment	313	184	35.9	22.1
Sickness or accident	226	164	26.7	19.7
Intemperance	25	166	..	19.9
Shiftlessness . . . . .	..	101	..	12.2
No real need . . . . .	..	121	..	14.6

"The difference between the two sets of returns is obvious. Where lack of employment and sickness have been alleged as accounting for 539 applications, or 62.6 per cent of the total, they are believed by the tabulator to really account for only 348 applications, or 41.8 per cent. On the other hand, intemperance comes in as the real cause in 19.9 per cent; shiftlessness in 12.2 per cent of the applications, and in 14.6 per cent of the applications it was judged that there was no real need. It is very probable that these judgments are severe, but the result shows how frequently, at least, the personal character is a contributory cause of poverty.

"An attempt was made when reading the records to determine the general character of the man and woman—that is, the adult members of the family. Such classification is at the best very rough, and does not give us much information. It may be said that the character was put down as good unless something distinctly

to the contrary appeared. The results are given in the following table:

PERSONAL CHARACTER OF MAN AND WOMAN.

	Male.	Female.	Total.	Percentages.
Good	122	231	353	45
Criminal	15	1	16	2
Insane . . . . .	..	1	1	..
Intemperate	81	56	137	17
Shiftless	56	52	108	14
Suspicious	13	30	43	6
Untruthful	5	15	20	3
Uncertain	38	65	103	13
Total	330	451	781	100
"Shiftless" includes	Male.	Female.	Total.	
Professional beggars	5	5	10	
Loss of independence	1	3	4	
Lack of push	2	1	3	
Laziness	1	..	1	
Extravagance . . . . .	..	2	2	
"Worthless"	7	5	12	
Prostitute . . . . .	..	1	1	
Total	16	17	33	
Shiftless indefinite	40	35	75	
Total	56	52	108	

"It would seem from this table that the judgment of the investigators was lenient. In nearly one-half of the cases the character of the men and women was said to be good.

Goodrich House, Cleveland.—Within the last few months there has been opened in the city an ambitious social settlement house known as "Goodrich House." It is a beautiful bit of Gothic architecture with Renaissance detail, built of Florentine brick, located in one of the poorer sections of the city and erected through the generosity of Mrs. Samuel Mather. It has a frontage on two streets of 122 by 97 feet, is three stories in height and has spacious and commodious quarters for every form of social settlement work. Provision is made for all sorts of clubs and kindergartens. A completely equipped gymnasium, bath rooms, parlors, sewing rooms, a public laundry and reading rooms make Goodrich House one of the finest, if not the finest, institutional house in America. It is presided over by several resident workers. It is hoped that it will prove an agency of great good in reclaiming the section of the city in which it is situated and raising the standard of living of those who participate in its advantages.

Some of the unique features of Goodrich House have been described by the Head Resident, Rev. Starr Cadwallader, in *The Commons* for October as follows:—

"The Goodrich Social Settlement, in Cleveland, is unique among American settlements in that it is the first of the settlements to possess at the time of its organization a building of considerable size, constructed expressly for its use. The possession of such a building presents difficulties and imposes responsibilities which were appreciated, at least in part, by those who planned for such a thing and made it possible. The settlement was incorporated May 20, 1897. The articles of incorporation state that, 'The purposes for which this corporation is formed is to provide a centre for such activities as are commonly associated with Christian social settlement work.' The incorporation was made to facilitate the work to be carried on in and through Goodrich House, a building erected at a cost of more than eighty thousand dollars by Mrs. Samuel Mather.

"Work had been going on for two years, which demonstrated the fact that something might be accomplished in the downtown district of Cleveland along such lines as are followed by settlements in other cities. The need for such effort was soon evident. The possibility of organizing and maintaining boys' clubs was shown by Mr. and Mrs. E. W. Haines, who brought together boys from the street and formed them into clubs, which increased in membership during two or three years to about two hundred. This was done under circumstances not particularly favorable. The rooms obtainable for a meeting place were unattractive and poorly ventilated; nevertheless, the boys came. The greatest difficulty was that of finding helpers who could or would serve with regularity. A sewing school for girls had drawn a considerable number of pupils for some two or three years. Last winter the name "Saturday Club" was given to this gathering, and its program was extended to include recreation in addition to the instruction in sewing. In April, 1895, a guild for women, having for its object mutual helpfulness, was organized from the remnants of a mothers' meeting.

"These activities were carried on under the auspices of the First Presbyterian Church until Goodrich House was finished, when they were transferred thither to be conducted under its management. These activities, together with one of the kindergartens of the Cleveland Day Nursery and Free Kindergarten Association, for which a room had been provided, formed the nucleus for work when the house was formerly opened, May 20, 1897. . . .

"The house is the result of a plan which was developed and modified in various particulars after the consideration of several years. Originally the sole idea was to provide a place where the parish work of the First Presbyterian Church could be enlarged, as the work of a church so situated might be. To find a suitable site in the immediate vicinity of the church proved a difficult matter. As time went on, each year showed more convincingly that the field was too large for any one church to care for, and that opportunity was offered for many workers of varied gifts. Finally the present location for the building was fixed upon. Meanwhile the settlement idea had been growing and proving its worth wherever conducted in the right spirit. This led to the conviction that the field here was one where a settlement might be more useful than a parish house.

"A name for the building was not far to seek. Twenty-five years ago Rev. Dr. William H. Goodrich was pastor of the First Presbyterian Church. Dr. Goodrich was a man of delightful personality, who combined broad culture with deep sympathy for humanity, and took the greatest interest in the welfare of this locality. His name, suggestive of much that harmonizes with settlement ideals, could be applied with peculiar appropriateness to a home devoted to settlement work."

MARCH.

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ANNALS
OF THE
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OF
POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.

SOCIOLOGY APPLIED TO POLITICS.

SOCIAL THEORIES AND RUSSIAN CONDITIONS.

In the latter years of our century sociologists have not only elucidated various historical phenomena, but have also endeavored to apply the sociological propositions to politics. Such an attempt has been made by Dr. Gumplowicz, Professor at the University of Graz in Austria.* Without entering into a discussion of his sociological convictions, more fully treated in another of his works on sociology, I wish to criticise the part applied to the political questions. It seems to be all the more called for, because his pamphlet contains ideas that are now widely spread among European readers and which will gain further currency through a proposed French translation.

In the practical part of his pamphlet, Professor Gumplowicz endeavors to prove that politics must become a science, based on natural laws, and not consist only of the formulation of desiderata for the actions of rulers, and of the estimation of their doings determined by the criteria of self-interest. Political practice that does not recognize these laws, leads to an aimless dissipation of social forces.

* "*Sociologie und Politik*," von Ludwig Gumplowicz. Leipzig, 1892.

For instance, in Austria from the year 1848 it was attempted by means of an ideal political doctrine to transform Austria, composed of "lands and kingdoms," having an altogether different historical past, into one German state. This transformation could not be effected, notwithstanding the greatest and most costly efforts; these attempts were immoral and unwise, because living nationalities cannot be oppressed and crushed in a civilized state.* Evidently the author rejects human interference with natural laws and finds a slow exploitation of feeble groups, and their prolonged starvation from exhaustion more suitable to civilization. We find also this care for living nationalities completely opposed to all his statements in sociology, to the impulse of self-preservation leading to conquests for exploitation, to the identity of social laws in a primitive horde and in civilized states, to the wastefulness of nature with living organisms, etc., etc.

After these preliminary remarks, the author proceeds to treat the most important contemporary European questions. We can restrict our remarks to two, viz., the relation of Western Europe to Russia, and the relation of the Germans to the Slavonic peoples.

Professor Gumpłowicz is convinced that the fundamental principle of European politics must be the recognition that Europe is divided into two worlds, profoundly different one from the other. Though Western Europe consists of several states, it presents a certain civilized whole that is opposed to Russia. Each of these worlds is seeking to enlarge its limits, and shock is inevitable. Because Russia, in consequence of its economic riches and the vastness of its territory, appears as an enormous force which tends naturally to grow, Western Europe must profit by all possible means of resistance to Russia's efforts to expand. Russia, as a continental state, is trying to reach the sea, and seize Constantinople; therefore, Europe, and especially the most

* Pp. 103-113.

endangered nations, Germany and Austria, ought to strive to weaken the influence of Russia in Bulgaria. It is evident, says Professor Gumplowicz, how deeply Bismarck was mistaken in saying "that the interests of Germany are not at all involved in Bulgaria!" Quite the contrary, says Professor Gumplowicz; a slice of Bulgaria will strengthen Russia and modify the chances of the whole of Western Europe in the struggle. The author is so profoundly convinced of the truth and persuasiveness of his arguments that he even expects a union of the interests of France and Germany against Russia, and presumes the possibilities of a defensive and aggressive alliance! The aim of such an alliance of Western Europe ought to be the separation from Russia of Bulgaria, Roumania, Poland, Finland. The purpose of the civilization of Western Europe must be to fence itself off from Asiatic barbarism and despotism, and to secure individual liberty, self-determination and equality*

As the author does not define exactly the distinguishing features between the two worlds, we shall endeavor to do so for him. A despotism formerly signified a state, in which the will of the despot was exclusively considered as the law, and the direction, prescribed by him, determined the whole scope of social life.† Now it is acknowledged that such states do not exist except for very short periods, and that a despotism of this kind must be regarded as a disease of a state and not as its permanent form. The Pharaohs of Egypt and the great Kings of Persia were probably much more limited by customs and manners, and especially by religion, than are the ministers of her Majesty, the Queen of England, by law. It is very well known that in Russia the laws have been published from the very beginning of the state. Probably in the thirteenth century the private juridical work, called "*Russkaya Pravda*" (Russian Law), and containing principally the decisions of the courts, took

* Pp. 113-29.

† "*Encyclopædie der Staatswissenschaften*," von Robert von Mohl. Second edition. Tübingen. §§ 15, 40-50.

its final shape. In the years 1497 and 1550 more extensive laws, designed to guide the activity of the judges (*Sudebnik*) were edited by the government. In 1648 appeared "*Ulozhenie*," or a legal code, settling the organization of the whole empire. From the time of Peter the Great, a long series of committees began the codification of the Russian laws. This work was completed in 1832, when, after more than a hundred years of labor, a complete collection of the laws of the Russian Empire, in fourteen volumes, was published. This great code embraces a vast field of legal, political and social relations, and the innumerable multitude of separate laws on different objects cannot be mentioned here for want of space; but the code shows that the order of social life is based on legal rules and not on the will of the emperor, and that the sphere of law was long ago separated from the sphere of customs, manners and religion. I add this remark because the characteristic feature of the old monarchies of the East was a mixture of morality, religion and law, so that the activity of individuals was determined not by legal but by moral and religious principles.

If the foregoing definition of a despotism does not apply to Russia, if the legal element was evident in her history from the very first, the application of the term "despotism" to her is only explicable in consequence of the lack of popular participation in her government. We shall examine how far this peculiarity can be acknowledged as a characteristic, as if it were innate in the Russian people. I employ the word "innate," because it is not worth while speaking about a peculiarity, when it is a transient and not essential quality.

First, we may observe in Western Europe enormous fluctuations in the popular participation in government. During long periods it was not known at all. Besides that, its character was extremely changeable: army, aristocracy, different classes, political parties, had in turn an influence in government. Now, political parties often form an artificial

majority of popular representatives and in this manner legally exploit the people. It can be said without great exaggeration that continental Europe has not yet assimilated this form of government, transplanted not very long ago from England. The instability of ministers, the abuses during elections, the collapse of parties, the corruptibility of members, and the scandalous scenes in parliaments, are obvious proof. Professor Gumpłowicz's native land (Austria) seems, in both of its parts, to be very far from a true parliamentary "régime." In Austria proper the majority of deputies, artificially produced, is only a means for the exploitation of the Slavonic majority by a German minority; in Hungary the parliament consists almost exclusively of Magyars who form hardly one-half of the whole population—a result which is reached by brute force. It is evident that it is a little hazardous to speak of liberty, self-determination, and equality of the individuals, as a characteristic of Western Europe.

Passing on to Russia, we find during the early period of Russian political life the greatest participation of the people in the government. From the ninth to the second half of the fifteenth century, the Russian dukes and grand-dukes were little more than the executive organs of *véche*, the great assembly in which the people were wont to gather. These popular assemblies were remnants of the primitive Aryan social organization. The great difference between Russian parliaments and those of Western Europe was, that the latter were much more aristocratic in consequence of the early differentiation of Western society. Such a republican form of government prevailed in Northern Russia, Novgorod and Pskov, until the absorption of these city-republics by the grand-dukes of Moscow. The power of these grand-dukes grew little by little, principally under the influence of Byzantine ideas, yet the participation of the people in the government did not disappear, but took another shape. Ivan the Fourth, the Terrible, of odious

memory, convoked about the year 1548 the first assembly of deputies in order to free himself from the predominance of the *boyars*, the Russian nobility, formed from the most heterogeneous elements. This nobility did not resemble the Western aristocracy, as it was not pervaded by a class-spirit; it was not a political body endowed by definite laws, but a class consisting of different families, having each some peculiar "honor" (or distinction), deserved by the grandfathers and fathers of the family. Each family was, as in old Rome (*jus imaginum*), a separate whole with a peculiar political and social position, according to the services of its members to the state. No political bond united the aristocratic families together. Such an origin of parliaments in Russia caused the whole population, and not merely the clergy, nobility and citizens, as in the West, to take part in the government. The assemblies had much influence on administration and legislation. The code of 1648 was examined by deputies. During the years 1613-1615 the assembly practically governed the state, the czar being young and inexperienced, and the times disturbed. This parliamentary régime lasted in Russia till the second half of the seventeenth century. The question now arises as to what caused the disappearance of the national representation, whether it was inborn antipathy or external influences.

The decision of political questions by the whole people is a wide-spread phenomenon. The appearance of national deputies instead of the whole people is a necessary consequence of the growth of larger political units and of the diminution of interest in political affairs. So far, the facts above described are quite intelligible. We must delve deeper to understand the changes in the last half of the seventeenth century.

The deification of the state came to Russia from Byzantium with the Greek church; and in this the Byzantine spirit fully preserved the ideals of ancient Greece. The idea that the grand-dukes are the representatives of

the state, and, therefore, absolute, was developed in Russia under the influence of the clergy very slowly; the invasions of the Mongols and continued wars with the Lithuanians and Poles, rendered the necessity of a strong government more imperious. But, notwithstanding all this, the czar was considered only as a living, visible representative of the state, which stood immensely above the czar and his people; both of whom were mere ciphers without the state. This pagan, classical idea received a new force from the intimate union of the church with the state; war was waged only with Mussulmans and Latins (Roman Catholics) and was in the eyes of clergy and people a sacred war. Thus the state enslaved all society. The czar is the ruler of the state, appointed by the finger of God and consecrated by anointment with the sacred oil, but his will should not predominate, should not be even evident, because he is only the organ of a higher force, of the interests of the state; when the latter demand it, he could be crushed as well as the humblest of his servants. This inference from the Byzantine political conceptions is not so prominent in Russia, but appears very clearly in Byzantium. This idea of sovereign power prevented the institution of an exact order of succession to the Byzantine throne. In Russia this deification of the state had an enormous influence on the origin of the classes. In Moscow classes appeared as a consequence of the diversity of obligations to the state. Every member of society was expected to serve the state, but while some defended it on the fields of battle, others brought to it their manual labor and furnished revenues to the state treasury. At the beginning (in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) these classes were almost equal; in the archives we sometimes find requests of the lower nobility (*deti boyarski, dvorjane*) for permission to remain as peasants in their village, because it is too oppressive for a poor *dvorjanin* to serve in the army. But this petition is never granted; the state subordinates the different

social groups to a severe control. These diverse social groups are called in Moscow "*cini*;" they must agree with each other and all of them with the czar on the question of how the interests of the state may be most conveniently promoted. Thus we see that the parliaments in Moscow were a necessary consequence of the political ideal, which inspired all Russian society, from the czar to his humblest subject. The will of the czar gave juridical force to the acts of government, but these acts were the results of a most profound knowledge of the real conditions of the state, which could be obtained exclusively from the *cini*. To all this must be added that this strange, singularly developed society, was extremely illiterate. The struggle with wild nature in a cold climate, continual warfare with barbarous nations made this society energetic and intelligent, but the light of science and industry was almost unknown. The mind was developed only in the practice of life. Therefore good counsel could be expected from the lowest citizen, since he also belonged to a certain group which bore certain burdens of the state, occupying itself specially with a certain kind of labor. This social condition began little by little to change in the seventeenth century. In consequence of the closer intercourse with the Poles, who were passionate admirers of the Western civilization, the court and the higher nobility gradually became convinced that the Muscovite régime must be modified in a direction bringing it nearer to the Western pattern. This conviction penetrated the more readily into the Russian higher circles, as one of the most fundamental tenets of Western civilization was the preponderance of the leading classes over the lower orders. In such an ideal the parliaments, consisting of the deputies of the whole people, were out of place for some time; their conservatism would lead them to make the most stubborn opposition to these innovations, which in the eyes of the people were not only hurtful but even godless (they came from the Latins, the avowed foes of the Orthodox church).

Thus the abolition of Russian representation was an inevitable result of the Western influence.

This explanation finds further confirmation in the fact that Western science and industry by degrees gained a foothold in Russian society. As the industries were mostly represented by strangers of different nations, sciences and political ideas spread in the richer circles which had more frequent intercourse with the Western Europeans. Thus a chasm was produced between the higher classes and the people which was before quite unknown in Moscow. As the nobility was more and more educated, *i. e.*, penetrated by the Western social and political ideas, it saw in itself the only depository of culture, the only class which might with utility be consulted by the state. As the higher strata, however, served the state personally, and the lower ones by manual labor and payments to the treasury, the idea could very easily arise that the nobility even without special assemblies, might give its counsel in manifold occasions during its personal service. Finally, the Western influence coincided with the time, when the "police-state" (*Polizei-staat*) prevailed in Europe. According to the ideal of such a state, the governors, as a highly educated class, should watch every step of the people in the people's interest, just as a governess watches a child. Popular assemblies were not in fashion during the eighteenth century and, strange as it may seem, even the Convention of the great French Revolution was permeated by the idea that the people did not know their own interests. The Russian government and the ruling classes had much of these tendencies of European thought. All these changes in thought tended to weaken and even destroy the old remnant of the popular representation.

The change in ideas of government under Western influences corresponded to the changes in society. As we have seen, in Moscow the will of the czar could not be questioned, because he himself was only an

organ of the state. Therefore the wishes of the population and principally of the clergy, had a great influence with the czar. He was accessible to all his subjects and the petitions to the throne from towns, cities, provinces, corporations, and even individuals had an enormous importance. It was a species of written representation of popular wants and necessities, not yet fully appreciated even by the best Russian historians. The accessibility of the throne was rooted in the idea, that the czar himself was destined by God for the well being of society, and that he was only the first servant of the state (the profound conviction so often expressed by Peter the Great). There was no place in these conceptions for a gap between the sovereign power and the people. But this idea was quite opposed to the Western ideas, the evolution of which was the following: The king was anciently a person designated by God to rule the common people with the help of the clergy and the nobility, according to eternal laws, given by the Creator; afterward, when feudal society fell to pieces, he was the representative of the cultivated classes of society, fit to rule the people according to the requirements of reason (*absolutisme éclairé*). In both cases a minority, having at its head a king, ruled a great majority and, in the common course of human affairs, exploited the latter. Evidently no great confidence could arise between the governors and the governed, and, therefore, we see in the eighteenth century a profound distrust between the sovereign powers and their subjects arising in the European nations. This latent feeling evidenced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by a large increase of actual and secret police, broke out at the end of the century in the great French Revolution. This want of confidence between throne and people, together with the means of governing (actual and secret police), invented by the Western spirit, predestined to "liberty, self-determination and equality of individuals," was transplanted to Russia for the coercion of Asiatic barbarism of

the Russian people, as was said in the eighteenth century by the Western civilizers, who came to Russia.

It might be argued, however, that our remarks relate to the past and not to the present, and that we acknowledge the change in Russian social relations, and that now, possibly even under Western influence, the state has assumed the form of a despotism, and society itself is altogether opposed to "self-determination." To resolve this question, we must turn to contemporary Russian society and begin with the '40's of our century. Although the sojourn of the Russian army in France after the Napoleonic wars made many officers the passionate admirers of French political ideas and this evoked a military insurrection, it did not engender social opinions, more or less independent of the West. An original social party first arose under the influence of German idealistic philosophy (Hegel). The "Slavophiles" saw the national Russian ideal in the Muscovite state and considered the Western influences as an intrusion of foreign thoughts, hurtful to the development of the Russian national spirit. They took for granted that Western Europe had arrived at the highest point of its civilization, and that it must necessarily fall, because the ideas, which gave it vigor, are withering. The Roman ideas and the Catholic church, permeated by them, had in their view materialized Western society and the result was on the one hand an unparalleled material progress and comfort, but on the other a fall in the direction toward the ideal good and even a failure to understand this good. This ideal good, at which the old Greek philosophy continually aimed, was preserved in the Orthodox church. It consisted in mutual love of the whole of humanity. Western society, on the contrary, pursuing its material interests, must necessarily live in a state of continual war. This spirit, inherited from ancient Rome, appeared very clearly in the ecclesiastical organization. While the Catholic church took the form of a monarchy, so convenient in the struggle for power over the world, and therefore declared

the pope a representative of Jesus Christ on earth, the Orthodox church took for its foundation the Saviour's words: "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." (Matthew, xviii. 20.) Hence arose the preponderance of the council over persons in the Orthodox church, the most evident difference between the two churches, and this in turn led to the tenet that the Orthodox church has no visible chief, but only an invisible one, Jesus Christ. According to the profound conviction of the Slavophiles, the East, notwithstanding its want of culture and its poverty, conceals in its bosom a virtue unknown or at least forgotten by the West, namely, the craving for an ideal. In politics the Slavophiles admitted the importance of a national council of the whole people, which should stand side by side with the czar and, not limiting his power, should make him acquainted with the popular wishes, criticise the measures already passed, and judge of the measures proposed. In economics, they preached an almost prohibitory tariff, the most energetic intervention of the state and most vigorous protection of the laboring classes against exploitation. Finally, in foreign politics they required the most active assistance to all Slav nations and abstinence from all Western political struggles. They believed that the unlimited craving for material progress must necessarily bring Western society to revolution and anarchy, to the uprising of all the degraded, feeble, indigent, indolent, and that only then would the time come for Russia to establish order on the eternal principles of justice and mutual love.

The formation of this powerful and flourishing party, having great influence in politics, foreign and home affairs, has brought about a closer union of the admirers of the West and engendered "the Western party" (*zapadniki*.) Their endeavor was to transplant into Russia all the newest Western opinions, as if they were the newest scientific truths; they called for parliaments in the same form as in

England or France; they insisted on the system *laissez faire, laissez passer*, so fashionable at that time in Europe; they were passionate partisans of tariffs on the basis of free trade. The Western nations naturally sympathized with them, and notwithstanding their great love "of liberty, self-determination and equality of individuals," they did not find it too prejudicial to their honor to denounce the Slavophiles on the one hand to the Russian government, as radicals, socialists, nihilists, and on the other to the public opinion of Europe as passionate conservatives, avowed foes of all progress, barbarians who wished to establish despotism in Europe and to convert all European nations by force to the Orthodox church.

In the course of time these two parties lost their sharply defined peculiarities, but at the bottom remained the same. It is not difficult to see that they are based on different philosophical systems. We find in the Slavophiles much of the idea of the German historical school about the national spirit vivifying the whole evolution of every nation, and some ideas from Hegel, who dwelt upon the predestination of nations in history according to the logical development of thought. In the eyes of Slavophiles, the Slavonic world ought to reconcile two antitheses: the liberty of individuals, inborn in Teutonic peoples; and order, represented by Roman law, Roman political ideas, the Catholic church. The Western party, on the contrary, founded their statements on the assumption that every people passes in its growth through the same stages of evolution, that it is very proper to transplant institutions from an older nation, into a country, taking its first steps in civilization; and that progress can in this manner be artificially accelerated. Considering both parties we find that in both of them national representation finds a prominent place, and hence it cannot be said of Russian society that it has an inborn tendency to despotism.

Passing on to the government and beginning with our

century we note that Alexander I. was animated by very progressive ideas, having been educated by a Swiss who instilled in him an admiration for the Swiss republic. He gave a parliament to Poland, annexed to Russia by the treaty of Vienna, and was not averse to having the same in Russia; but Napoleon's wars, "the Holy Alliance," with its extremely conservative tendencies, and Metternich, the omnipotent Austrian minister, kept him from executing his plan. The military insurrection of the year 1825 had an enormous influence on his successor, Nicholas I., and with the general course of European thought at that time, turned him to the support of the conservative powers in Europe. Although Nicholas' reign was an iron discipline for Russia, the czar, feeling that legality only could preserve him from the reproach of an arbitrary use of the sovereign power, laid great stress on the observation of legal rules in the whole administration. It must be, however, acknowledged that at the time, even in the opinion of the Slavophiles, a parliament in Russia would have been dangerous for the following reasons: The social class, which had served the state on the fields of battle had become under Western influence a nobility in the Western sense of the word, *i. e.*, a leading and ruling stratum of society. Simultaneously the relations of the laborers to the nobility became transformed. When, at the end of the sixteenth century, bondage was instituted in Russia, it was not at all a degradation for the laborers and a prerogative to the *dvorjane*, but only a form of payment to the state for military service. The peasants, serving the state by manual labor, from the end of the sixteenth century, devoted their manual labor to the military class in order that it might more correctly and conveniently fill the army. As I have said, military service and its equivalent, gratuitous labor, were of so little value that often a poor *dvorjanin* preferred to be a peasant. But these conditions changed altogether under Peter III. and Catherine II. The latter agreeing entirely with the views of

Montesquieu, that the nobility is the fundamental support of the throne and monarchy, confirmed the law of Peter III. in 1785, which liberated the *dvorjane* from obligatory military service, and thus turned them into a nobility and their peasants into serfs, obliged by their labor to sustain the leading class in order that it might develop itself intellectually. Hence if there had been a parliament in Russia in the reign of Nicholas I., it would have been composed almost exclusively of nobles, and, therefore, the abolition of bondage would have been rendered, if not impossible, yet very difficult and very long deferred.

The great reforms of Alexander II. are yet in the memory of all. He was disposed to complete the emancipation of the serfs, the reforms in the administration of justice, the organization of self-government in provinces and cities with a re-establishment of the Russian national representation, when the thread of his precious life was violently broken. Alexander III., when yet heir to the throne, shared the ideas of the Slavophiles, and after his accession, during his whole reign, was a brilliant representative of their doctrines. The strengthening of the religious, moral and economic forces of his people, the protection of the laboring classes, in a word, the internal growth of Russia in all directions entirely absorbed him. He profoundly disliked all military undertakings and considered the conservation of peace as his most sacred obligation; a strong conviction of the holiness of the mission as an emperor gave him a great aversion to the frauds, so frequent in international intercourse, and filled his heart with benevolence toward all nations. The mistrust of Alexander III., as well as of not a few persons of the Russian ruling classes toward the parliamentary form of government can be well explained by two facts. First, we find among the most progressive and original European and American writers *

*Karl Marx with all the socialistic and anarchistic school, de Greef, Ward.

much skepticism in regard to popular representation *in its contemporary form*. While fifteen years ago it was considered as a panacea for all social diseases, it is often spoken of now as of a shrewd form of exploitation of the laboring classes by the wealthy and intelligent. Secondly, parliaments have shown weaknesses in different countries, in France—a diminution of the feeling of the necessity of a strong government; in Germany—an extraordinary splitting of political parties; in Austria-Hungary—an extreme facility of composing a parliament of elements, odious even to the majority of the population; in North America—a distrust of state legislatures and many plans for limiting their sphere of action.*

The manifest corruptibility of the deputies (Panama, Banca Romana) adds a greater stain to nations than the corruptibility of individual rogues in the administration. The phenomena, above cited, led to the presumption that a national assembly is not the last word as to the form of the participation of society in government, and, it seems to me that under the emperors Alexander II. and III., a new form of representation began imperceptibly to evolve itself, namely, the discussion of laws by persons, invited by government from society, because from them the best counsel could be expected on account of their knowledge of the object of laws. And if we now turn to scientific literature, we find since the time of the German professors Ahrens and Roder, that the substitution of the usual national representation by the representation of social groups, engaged in the varied forms of business, in art, sciences, etc., in order to represent the interests of certain occupations, is desired more and more. It will replace a somewhat metaphysical idea of representation of the will of the nation by the idea of representation of the different

*Bryce. "The American Commonwealth." London and New York, 1890. Vol. i, pp. 427, 428, 450-52, 458-72.

professions of the nation.* Thus we can hope that in Russia in the course of time will appear the most practical representation which is desired by the most advanced minds of Europe and America (Ahrens, de Greef, Ward).

The conclusion to be drawn from these considerations is, that it is a great mistake, though frequent in Europe and America, to believe Russian society prone to despotism. On the contrary, Russia is well acquainted with Western national representation, but also sees clearly its weak points. The government understands the advantage of hearing the voice of the people, but holds that the forms of representation, known up to this time do not satisfy all requirements. Finally, a strong government, the need of which is so widely felt in the Russian nation, seems to offer important advantages not only in international struggles, where it is generally acknowledged, but at home where a vigorous arm is no less needed to bring relief to the poor, the weak, and even to the whole society.

Notwithstanding all that has been said in the foregoing, there is some truth in the distinction between Russia and Western Europe. The necessity of a strong government is, without doubt, more keenly felt in Russia; the pre-eminence of aristocracy in all the functions of political and social life is more remarkable in the West, notwithstanding all its professed love for equality; finally the antithesis of the classes is stronger in Western Europe than in Russia, although apparently (in dress and in external respects, generally) in the latter country the differences seem to be enormous. These differences can readily be explained historically.

The antithesis of ecclesiastical and mundane society arose at the time of the formation of divers German states on the ruins of the Western Roman empire. It was rooted, first, in blood, the clergy being almost exclusively Roman

* This was recently widely discussed in Belgium during the revision of the constitution. Such a representation was favored by many, who termed it a representation of interests.

(Romanized Germans were few); secondly, in education; and, lastly, in the quality of the central points of attraction (a bishop or archbishop on the one hand, a king on the other). The recognition of the grandeur of the truth preached by the church aggravated the feeling of injuries often suffered from the civil powers, and led to the antagonism between the church and the state, the sparks of which glowed beneath the embers from the fifth century and burst out in the time of Gregory VII. and Henry IV., producing an indelible mistrust and even enmity between the church and the state, not yet effaced. Evidently these feelings of the clergy were reflected also in civil society, and could not but impair consideration for the sovereign power. It is, I believe, a truth, not yet fully recognized by Western scholars that the Roman Catholic church is the true cause of this spirit of mistrust against the sovereign power, which seems to be an inborn quality of every Western European. He seems to believe that the government is almost a power of darkness which should be limited as much as possible. He considers it as something quite external to society, and hence the latter always must be on the alert not to be subjugated by the former. Therefore, the last resort of every government, the most despotic or the most republican, is the conviction of the whole nation as to the strength, necessity, and form of the government. Every government must understand that it is but a part of society; that its interests and the interests of society are the same; that its military, economic, intellectual, moral power is that of the nation. This very simple idea is completely obscured in the West and even in America, where the state has no power of itself. Hence the power of the state is only the power of a part of society (leading classes in Western Europe, political parties in England and America), which evidently takes advantage of the other social parties: it only utilizes the occasion which will speedily pass, and not so soon occur again.* On the

* This is, to my mind, the true cause of the spoils system in North America.

contrary, in Byzantium, two causes prevented the rise of such an antagonism between the state and the church. Heresies appeared in the Byzantine empire in consequence of the proneness of the Greek spirit to philosophical discussion. The policy of the state toward them was very wise. The emperor convoked assemblies of the clergy who should freely discuss the questions at liberty; the majority of voices was considered as the opinion inspired by the Holy Ghost, accepted by the emperor and made obligatory even by force. Thus the state was sure to have on its side the majority of the clergy, which in turn were very grateful that dissensions were crushed and that order was kept in the church. In this manner, freedom and tranquillity were preserved. On the other hand, the state, taking in its hand the guarantee for the opinions of the majority, freed the church from the degrading scenes of *auto-da-fé* and the holy inquisition. The state suppression of heresies was never so sanguinary as in the West of Europe, because the state, always having in view its political interests, considered even heretics as a part of society, giving force to the state, and principally because it always dreaded an alliance of the heretics with the external foes of the empire. Toleration was more general in the East and very useful to the development of a true Christian spirit. Secondly, all the wars of Byzantium were waged against the avowed enemies of the Orthodox church (Persians, Arabs, Latins, Turks); and were therefore viewed by the clergy and the people as sacred wars; this idea was evident in the prayers and processions of the army going to war. These two causes (the solution of religious dissensions with the aid of the state and the wars against the infidels) brought the church to the conviction of the identity of the interests of the state and that of the church, practically to the policy of supporting the state with all possible means and, theoretically, to the deification of the state, *i. e.*, to the view that the state is the organization of society directly instituted by

God, and, therefore, holy.* To these fundamental causes of the absence of antagonism between the church and the state, must be added not a few minor ones; for example, that the Byzantine throne was occupied by a long series of distinguished writers, philosophers, reformers, who could well understand the interests of the church and who sought to elevate and purify the religious spirit of society; further, that no chasm existed between the ecclesiastical and the civil class, since even patriarchs were sometimes laymen, for instance, the eminent Photius; therefore, the interests of the church were not alien to the civil circles as in the West; lastly, that the Byzantine society was composed of very heterogeneous elements, to whom only the Orthodox church as a state-religion gave unity, etc. All these ideas of the relation of the state to the church, of the Orthodox church as a state-religion, etc., were transplanted into Russia, and became there under the influence of the clergy an indestructible part of the national ideas.

The pre-eminence of the aristocracy in all the functions of political and social life and the antithesis of the diverse classes, were deeply rooted in the Western society. Christianity, as a religion imported from afar, spread itself principally in the cities, where there was a greater gathering of different nations for trade and industry; we find in the cities also schools, which diffused every sort of knowledge. So a chasm arose between the dwellers in cities and the villagers, as between a class, better educated and penetrated by Christian doctrines, and peasants, who, during the whole middle ages, presented much uncouthness and many heathen prejudices. This antithesis is testified even yet by the word

* The state, on the contrary, in the idea of Gregory VII, appeared as a necessary consequence of the depraved nature of man and only a means for his discipline. Therefore, the state is a temporary institution which must perish, when sin, by the action of the church and the punishing arm of the state, will disappear. Eicken. "*Geschichte und System der mittelalterlichen Weltanschauung.*" Stuttgart, 1887. Pp. 356-436. The conception of the state, as of an agent which is called in when necessity demands, seems to prevail in the Catholic church until now.

paganus, *païen* "pagan," that signified, first, villager, and afterward, a heathen. Hence the idea necessarily arises, that the higher classes, as more educated, must rule over the lower orders. This conception was very clearly enunciated in the time of Charlemagne in a letter, written to him by Alcuin.* The same opinions found expression in the year 825, when Louis the Pious formally recognized the right of the aristocracy to take part in the government.† I think it is too well known to be much dwelt upon, that the feudal system added much to the gulf between the governors and the governed. The Catholic church in its antagonism to the state gave a sacred character to the participation of the aristocracy in government, saying that God Himself calls the ecclesiastical powers and the aristocracy to the help of the king, and that even they are answerable before God for the use of such share in government. The Catholic church considered itself as a guardian of the rightful order in the world, and as the church itself was too feeble for such an undertaking, it used all its influence to turn the aristocracy into its blind instrument. So the tenet was formed, clearly expressed by Bracton, as follows:

"Now the king hath one set over him, that is, God. Likewise the law, whereby he is made king. Likewise his own court, to wit, his barons and earls; for earls are called comites, as being the king's companions, and who hath a companion hath a master. So if the king be without bridle, that is, without law, they must put the bridle upon him."‡

Besides all this, the Latin language, facilitating the literary intercourse among the Western nations and the knowledge of which, as a dead language, could only be acquired in schools, necessarily separated the lower orders from the more intelligent circles, and left the former to

* Alcuin. "*Epistolae*." 127. "*Populus juxta sanctiones divinas ducendus est, non sequendus, et ad testimonium personae magis eliguntur honestae. Nec audienti quinsolent dicere: Vox populi vox Dei, cum tumultuositas vulgi semper insaniae proxime sit.*"

† Capit. from 825, art. 3. Pertez. *Leges*. Vol. 1, p. 243.

‡ Pollock. "*Essays in Jurisprudence and Ethics*." p. 212. London, 1882.

themselves. The crusades filled the warriors with the great Christian ideas of equality, brotherhood, and other thoughts, partially inferred from Christianity (a deep religious spirit, a great esteem for women, and the wish to support the indigent and the feeble), and partially imported from the East (the love for the fantastic). From these influences was born the literature of chivalry, which produced a new social class with specific customs, manners, opinions, identical throughout the West. Thus, during the middle ages, arose various classes differing greatly in all the functions of social life; the clergy, after the introduction of celibacy, a social body completely locked up in itself, with its own laws, a chief, self-government, political ideals, etc.; the aristocracy, persuaded that God Himself laid upon it together with the emperor and kings the government of the nations; the chivalry, forming a great body, pervaded by a characteristic spirit, having the same manners, customs, standard of life, everywhere in the West; finally the citizens, occupying themselves with industry and trade, also with their law and political organization, strictly applied to the wants of their livelihood; the peasants hardly constituted a social class, but were considered laboring cattle. This social order, evolved during the middle ages, was so deeply rooted in the convictions of Western society, that it was thought as pre-established for the whole humanity by the wisdom of God. Nor can we speak in later history of a unification of the Western classes; on the contrary, we find a preponderance of one class over all the others. So the citizens with their political ideals reign almost exclusively in France since the first revolution, and prevail more and more throughout Western Europe. Mr. Herbert Spencer is quite right in saying, that the industrial type now predominates in social life, but possibly he is not so good a prophet of the future and the same can be said of the historians, who see in the growth of society a change of social classes. These formulas are perhaps

applicable to the West, but they are too narrow for humanity as a whole, and even for the European East. Even now in Paris, for instance, the contrast between an inhabitant of the Boulevard St. Germain, representative of the aristocracy, and of the Faubourg Montmartre, representative of the so-called fourth-class, is so great in religious, moral, political, social convictions that they seem to belong to different races.

I am persuaded that only by entirely setting aside the Western social organization can Eastern society be understood. It was not at all differentiated; not only the conditions of differentiation, known to us from the West, were altogether wanting, but even a whole set of circumstances occurred which opposed the formation of classes. We do not see in Byzantism a great variety in non-ecclesiastical literature. Life concentrated itself in the church. Religion satisfied the love of the Greeks for philosophical discussions; the conflux of people in magnificent temples for long divine services, where sometimes a mundane conversation was held, replaced the gatherings for political purposes and for the plays of ancient Greece, and vivified the social life to which the Greeks were so accustomed; while solemn religious processions gave satisfaction to the æsthetic sense. The clergy themselves were closely connected with the mundane society through their wives and children, and did not form a separate political body. Finally, as we have said, the Orthodox religion was a powerful tie, uniting peoples of different blood, Slavs, Armenians, Arabs, Copts, etc. This Byzantine church, remembering the words of Christ, that the gospel is given to all mankind, spoke to every nationality in its own language; the knowledge of Greek was not necessary for understanding the Orthodox faith. The church also, perfectly aware that with the fall of the state Orthodoxy might perish, employed all possible means to strengthen the state and therefore to unite the Byzantine polyglot society; to excite the lords or the warriors against

the emperor, to preach to them, that they are called upon to defend the legal order even against the arbitrary will of the emperor, would have seemed to the Byzantine clergy a hateful heresy. They were convinced that the legal order is sustained by the wisdom of God Himself, who does not need a human arm to crush the most powerful emperor, transgressing the holy precepts. Manifestly, the Greek church understood Christianity in a deeper and more truly Christian spirit than her Western sister. As we have seen the different social classes were *there* animated with ideals, quite opposed, because flowing from quite divers civilizations (Catholic clergy—Christianity transformed by Roman political and moral ideas; aristocracy—feudal system with the memory of conquests; chivalry—Christianity transformed by Eastern influence; citizens—remnants partly of Roman municipalities permeated by Roman juridical conceptions and partly of the old Teutonic social organization); *here* there was an enormous diversity among different nations in *quantity* of culture, but not in *quality*. In the Byzantine empire, the extent of religious, moral, political and social knowledge was the same, but some knew it fully, some only partly, and some almost not at all. The second cause, opposed to the differentiation of society, was the great power of the emperor; he, as the representative of the state, and the guardian of the church, stood so high in the opinion of his peoples, that political rights, independent of him and limiting his power, could not spring up at all.

But, as we have said, his will ought not to prevail as in a despotism; all his power, on the contrary, came from the state, and we see him crushed more than once by the clergy and bureaucracy, who considered themselves depositories of the political and military traditions of the state.*

* My picture of the Byzantine state and society is borrowed from Paparrigopoulos, the eminent Professor of the University of Athens, who devoted almost his whole life to the history of Greece and Byzance. He has himself written an epitome of his voluminous work, written in modern Greek, and published it in French under the title: "*Histoire de la civilisation hellénique*." Paris, 1878.

This idea of society as a whole, not separated by sharp lines and united by a state-religion, was transferred with the Greek church to Russia. We have already spoken of the evolution of Russian society; we must only direct attention to a circumstance, still more opposed to differentiation. It was not the entire inheritance of ancient Greece nor the whole Byzantine literature which was transplanted into Russia, but only what was translated into the Slavonic language from the Greek, principally in Bulgaria. There was not much of that, and, therefore, it was easily appropriated by the whole population. Thus, the want of the means of education itself had an advantage, not yet fully appreciated by the Russian historians; the unity of society was preserved, and at the time of danger the whole society arose as one man for defending the state and church, because all society was permeated by the very same religious, moral, social, and æsthetic feelings.

Thus we agree with Professor Gumplowicz that a certain difference exists between Russia and Western Europe, but this difference does not serve as a reproach to Russia. If we even grant that the feeling of dependence of an individual upon the state, incomparably more intense in Russia, is a questionable acquisition, the absence of a chasm between the social classes and the absence of a ruling class are benefits, to acquire which the West had to pass through terrible commotions and to suffer effusions of blood. What has been accomplished in Russia by a peaceful historical process, is not yet fully acquired by the West. In this connection we wish to direct the attention of scholars to the Slavonic world. With due respect to Western science, we have always been astonished that it studies this world so little. The comprehension of Slavonic life seems to me indispensable for a true estimation of the forces, which produced Western civilization. All the might of the influence of the Catholic church, of feudalism, chivalry, etc., can be comprehended only by a comparison with a society of the

same Aryan blood, having almost the same political institutions at its appearance on the historical scene, but pursuing so different a path in its development. But this is not all. This Slavonic world, with almost the same social organization until the thirteenth century, divides from this moment into two halves, developing under different influences (the Western ideas and the Byzantine conceptions) with quite different results (Poland, Bohemia, Croatia on the one hand, Russia on the other). But even this is not all which can be said. In Bulgaria and Servia, we see a crossing of Western and Eastern influences, the result of conquests long past (the two countries were conquered by Slavs), and of peculiarities of geographical configuration (mountains separating the tribes and opposing national unity). It is as if nature itself was bent on the most diverse historical experiments.

In stating the relation of the Germans to the Slavonic peoples, Professor Gumplowicz proceeds from his tenet, that Russia threatens Western Europe. As Russia, he says, in its perversity has created a new form in order to increase its influence, panslavism, *i. e.*, a claim for its preponderance over the whole Slavonic world, on the ground of the sameness of blood, and as behind the propaganda of panslavism lurks panrussism, despotism and orthodoxy,—Austria and Germany must take all possible measures to elevate the self-consciousness of national individuality in the particular Slavonic nations and not persecute them. Slavophilism is a phenomenon very sympathetic, politically innocent, consisting in the support of mutual sympathy among the Slavs. But panslavism must be separated from Slavophilism, because the former aims at the absorption of all the Slavs by Russia and to their russification. The most energetic measures should be taken against panslavism, but it ought not to be forgotten that it can spread itself only among such Slavonic peoples as are not yet fully developed. When the nationality is already

determined, it will be ever extremely averse to panslavism, as is evident from the relation of Russia and Poland and now also of Bulgaria; social groups do not die willingly; nations do not, though individuals may, commit suicide. The support of the Slavs, the regeneration of Slavonic nationalities in Germany and Austria, is the most decisive measure against panslavism. There is no reason to fear the narrowing of the limits of the German nationality; the European nationalities were formed during more than a thousand years; their limits are determined, and one cannot acquire much from the other. Finally, if even some one little German city, encircled by Slavonic villages, will become Slavonized, there is no great harm done. On the other hand, the great German cities will continue in their turn to transform into Germans the Slavonic elements, of recent acquisitions.

The rise of the Western Roman Empire revived the aim of ancient Rome for the empire of the world, which was reinforced by the Christian religion, preaching the unity of all mankind under one chief (one flock under one shepherd). This doctrine penetrated into the minds of the Germans at the moment of their vigorous youth. Thus, it is not at all wonderful that we find a long series of emperors, who made great efforts to subjugate the heathen Slavonic peoples. For three hundred years an almost incessant war prevailed, till the Slavonic peoples, living on the shores of the Baltic, were conquered. Meanwhile, Poland and Bohemia, where the echoes of Slavonic struggles with the Germans should have been heard and spread a mistrust of the Germans, became transformed into dukedoms, were Christianized, and willingly acknowledged the supremacy of the emperor as of the common chief of the Christian world. Yet this first encounter necessarily evoked among the Germans, a consciousness of superiority and among the Slavs, a feeling of animosity.

The second period in their relations begins about the end of the twelfth century. Western Europe, profiting by the great Roman inheritance, becoming rich and populous was obliged to look out for lands where its population and industry could find an issue. The struggles between the pope and the emperor, the fall of the imperial power, "the right of the stronger" (*Faustrecht*), the dissensions between the knights and the towns, produced insecurity of life and property. These two facts impelled the Western nations to seek new territories, and the attention involuntarily turned to the Slavonic countries so scantily peopled. In the Slavonic world itself not a few causes contributed to such an immigration, namely, the desire of the dukes to profit by Western tradesmen and artisans, the desire of the clergy who at the beginning were principally of German or Roman blood to surround themselves with inhabitants of the same origin, to people the uncultivated spaces, and to have under their hand a Christian population of longer standing, the efforts among the great lords to enrich themselves with the help of the foreigners. The invasion of the Mongols added to all this an enormous depopulation of the Slavonic countries, suggesting to princes, clergy and lords the desire to fill up the decrease by German immigrants. The result of these circumstances was that not only all the cities, but even a great many villages were in the fourteenth century peopled by Germans in the Slavonic countries of the Catholic faith. We may know by what feelings this foreign population was animated, not only from many collateral indications, but also from the insurrection of Cracow and other German colonies in the beginning of the fourteenth century, aiming to transform Poland into a province of the German empire. Although the insurrection was repressed, it had in Poland very pernicious consequences. The rural Polish population looked on the inhabitants of the towns with mistrust, and did not even consider them as fellow-citizens,

and they in their turn did not regard Poland as their native country. Similar conditions prevailed in Bohemia. Hence the cities could not, as in the West, counterbalance the nobility, becoming a necessary link between the nobles and the peasants, and could not present a strong support to the kings and to the villagers. We must, however, say that in the beginning this German colonization was very useful; only by this great boon of Western labor and capital the rapid bloom of the Catholic Slavonic countries became possible. So the celebrated "*Drang nach Osten*" arose, lasting in a less or greater degree until now; as late as the '50's of our century the eminent German economist, Roscher, preached the immigration of Germans to the Balkan peninsula in order to found there a New Germany.

Incomparably more dangerous was the intellectual subjection of the Catholic Slav-countries. These countries, finding no counterbalance in other intellectual influences, fully assumed the political Western doctrines. We have seen that the latter followed from the very conditions of existence of the Western world. For greater clearness we must recapitulate them:

1. The idea that the sovereign power is only the civil arm required *to educate the nations* in Christian morality, that therefore it necessarily stands in a contrast with the wishes and feelings of the lower orders; when the contrast ceases, the sovereign power ceases also. With the course of centuries the essence of this idea, in my eyes, has not at all changed. The education of nations in Christian morality was replaced in course of time by education in metaphysical conceptions (equality, liberty, and brotherhood) dictated by reason, and in quite modern times in scientific truths (Comte, etc.). The anarchists are in this sense the legitimate children of the Western doctrine of the sovereign power; they uphold the doctrine that the education of the people is completed; the nations want no more tutors; therefore, the state ought to be abolished. Thus the Western

political system is quite powerless against the logical inferences of the anarchists.

2. This education can only be given, except by the clergy, by a leading class, a depository of moral and intellectual or scientific acquirements of humanity.

3. These two tenets had, as a consequence, although undesirable, but quite inevitable, the breaking asunder of Western society into diverse strata, altogether opposed in their feelings. As education depends upon economic security and intellectual capacity, developing itself hereditarily, equality in knowledge could not until now be attained.

The introduction of these doctrines among Catholic Slavs speedily produced certain consequences. Beginning with the twelfth century the power of the Slavonic princes began to fall, and already in the fifteenth century the kings of Poland and Bohemia were almost without influence. The lamentable condition of Poland at the end of the fifteenth century, as a consequence of the decline of the royal power, is very circumstantially stated in a new and very scholarly work,* and in Bohemia the monarchy did not even exist during several years of the fifteenth century (1420-1436). Yet more deplorable was the mutual relation of the social classes: the clergy, severing every tie with the people, rich and depraved, seeking only their own profit from the contending popes; the lords, pervaded by the Western aristocratic conception, and as in Bohemia, thoroughly Germanized; the warriors, more and more penetrated by the spirit of chivalry, drawing a sharp line between them and the inhabitants of the towns; the citizens, German by blood, sympathizing with all the streams of German thought and completely alien to their own country; finally the peasants, destined by the mediæval social order to serfdom; in a word, every class pursuing its own interests and considering the other classes as avowed foes, and the state

* Adolf Pawinski. "*Sejmikiziemskie, 1374-1505.*" pp. 82-240. Warsaw, 1895.

as an odious and useless impediment to reaching these interests. This state of things was bound to evoke a reaction. And, indeed, this reaction expressed itself in Bohemia in a great religious, political, and social movement, completely destroying the old political organization and shaking even the foundations of the mediæval Western society. Poland escaped this catastrophe only by the fact that the predominance of the Catholic church kept her true to her so-called predestination to carry the Western civilization into the Orthodox Slavonized (great part of Lithuania) and Slavonic lands. Thus Poland's attention was drawn away from her internal affairs, and she brought the Catholic religion, the contempt for the absolute power of a king, the doctrine of the position of the leading classes in society into the East; what were the results? History has shown with striking clearness in the years 1772-95 and has impressed her lessons with unspeakable suffering, streams of blood, all sorts of degradation and frauds coming from the East as well as the West of Europe. We must, nevertheless, acknowledge that the brilliant Polish political literature arose under the influence of the evident decomposition of the state in the fifteenth century.

Thus, in the fifteenth century we may confidently say that the Catholic Slavonic world seemed to be predestined to extermination; the German wave slowly overflowed the Slavonic countries where the preceding Western influence had decomposed society and undermined the kingly power, the basis of order in the fifteenth century. At this moment two facts of world-wide importance changed the course of events. In 1453 an energetic Asiatic horde under a military genius as chief, took Constantinople; a whole series of eminent sultans drove back Western Europe. The Asiatic barbarism hindered in the South Slavonic countries for some hundred years the development of civilization, but it covered these lands as with a layer of snow, preserving their strength for a new vigorous youth. Another, a peaceful

genius, sailing from the opposite side of Europe, discovered America, and in this manner guided by his mighty arm the Western overproduction of population, labor and capital in quite another direction. There the Western colonists, animated by the vivifying influences of humanism and reformation, laid the foundation of a state of the greatest material prosperity and of liberty to a degree quite unknown to the old world. Thus, the stream of the Western colonization in the East was, if not wholly stopped, at least extremely weakened. Notwithstanding these facts, the absorption of Slavonic lands did not cease altogether; yet the forces were considerably lessened; while before, the whole colonization of the West tended to the East, now it was exclusively German colonists, for whom the Slavonic lands, as lying near, were more profitable, because the Germans could hope not to be lost to their native country as in America. The dismemberment of Poland, and even the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina are nothing else but the consequent steps of a progress, mentioned by us, which began at the time of Charlemagne.

If the movement of colonists into the Slavonic lands diminished, the Western intellectual influence did not stop, and the fall of the Bohemian kingdom in the early years of the seventeenth century was avowedly produced by the weakness of the sovereign power and the decomposition of society, in which there raged political, social, religious dissensions, imported from the West.* But the Western influences made themselves felt most thoroughly in Poland and there at the end of the sixteenth century the organization of the state took almost the form of a political caricature. What in the West was changed under the altered circumstances, remained unchanged in Poland and rose to abnormal dimensions. The power of the king in consequence of humanism, Roman reminiscences, Reformation and Catholic reaction, was considerably strengthened

* Jos. Kalousek. "*Ceské statui pravo*." pp. 389, 390. Praha, 1892.

in Western Europe, but in Poland the distrust of a king, fostered by the Catholic church, could not be eradicated, while the classical idea of the sovereignty of the people transformed itself into a hatred of all political power. In the West the position of the leading classes remained unshaken, but it was very well understood that the other classes must have some liberties. In Poland, on the contrary, the nobility, remembering the doctrines of the classical world, principally of Aristotle, of the necessity of slavery, began to consider themselves as the nation itself, and the other classes almost as its laboring cattle. So the celebrated "golden liberty" arose, which could not even co-exist with the state.* This intellectual influence of the West, even at the present moment, produces disturbances in the South Slavonic kingdoms. The eras of government of "the liberal party" (*napredniki*) in Servia and of the partisans of Stambuloff in Bulgaria, had for their basis the Western tenet of the predestination of the leading classes to rule over the lower orders; this same doctrine principally divides into two opposed parties the Russian and Polish society.

Thus the relation of the Germans to the Slavs is determined by great economical and intellectual currents, lasting a thousand years. The component elements of these currents are two, viz.:

1. The feeling of a superiority, rooted in success (almost the whole of Prussia was anciently Slavonic), and in a fuller development. This feeling leads to the presumption, that the Slavs are a race of minor intellectual capacity, and this latter in its turn justifies injustices to the Slavs (it is silently taken for granted that this race is a detriment to progress and is predestined to extinction).

2. The overproduction of population, industry and capital, which seek an issue and find it most conveniently in

* Mich. Bobrzynski. "*Dzieje Polski wzarysie*." 3d ed. Vol. II. pp. 181-87.
 "The Cause of the Decline," pp. 345-68.

the neighboring Slavonic countries. This phenomenon must necessarily aim at the concentration of great landed property, and great commercial, manufacturing and industrial undertakings in the hands of Germans, while the aboriginal (Slavonic) population are intended to become only laborers. This consequence is rendered the easier by the contemporary international law, which tends to a formal equality, and does not fully take into account the real differences in economical and intellectual development. Hence the absence of manufactures is very painfully felt, except in Bohemia, in all the Slavonic countries, which are too feeble to protect themselves by a prohibitive tariff. Against such tendencies of Western Europe, which lie in the very nature of things and were produced, one may say, in the course of a thousand years, the disjointed Slavonic world is too feeble to resist without the help of Russia, and this is one of the chief causes of the panslavistic feelings in a great many Slavonic minds.

We have seen also that the intellectual influence of the West was generally pernicious to the Slavs. This phenomenon is easily explicable by the fact that the West undermined too early the feelings of discipline and cohesion. The incessant wars of ancient Rome deeply rooted in the whole Roman population the necessity of discipline, which found a brilliant expression in the Roman law. This law through the church, state and school, very early disciplined Western society, which met with the Slavs, when the unity of state and church, the identity of political conceptions were already loosened in the West. But these separating elements could do no harm, because society was yet tolerably well accustomed to order; they were even useful, because they tended to progress. On the contrary, the Catholic Slavonic nations wanted discipline and a basis for intellectual unity, which the West could not give at the moment of meeting. Finally, it must be ever kept in mind that political and economical conceptions cannot be

confounded with scientific truths; they are only the efforts of the human mind to bring into order the real political and economic conditions. From this point of view it is quite evident how pernicious must be the transfer of political and economic conceptions from one region into another quite different one; it is as if a Russian traveler would wear a bear's skin in Sicily during winter, because this fur was necessary for him in Russia. I add this remark because it might be concluded from my speaking of the pernicious intellectual influence of the West, that I have in view Western science and literature. With profound respect for Western scientific and literary greatness, I mean only political, economic, and sometimes religious conceptions. Western science has itself recently begun to criticise the Western political and economic system; the first steps were taken in this direction by the socialists, and this is their indubitable scientific merit. Societies of comparative jurisprudence have recently undertaken the study of the relation between the political and economical conceptions on the one hand, and the political and economical conditions on the other. This will inevitably lead to the enlargement of the political and economic horizon and to the foundation of political, economical and moral ideas on a true scientific basis. On this occasion I should like to warn the reader against another possible misunderstanding of my views. I have so often and so strongly insisted on sovereign power, that it might be inferred that I uphold the doctrine of the general usefulness of an absolute monarchy. This idea is completely foreign to my mind; I only defend the thesis that the dependence of the citizen upon the state is very faintly developed in Western Europe and in America.* The abandonment of the doctrine *laissez faire, laissez passer* necessitates a great deal of interference of the state in the social relations, and to this the Western and American

* "The American Commonwealth," by James Bryce. 2d ed. Vol. ii, pp. 575-76. London and New York, 1890.

society is quite opposed under the influences mentioned above. The political form, which the feeling of dependence of an individual upon the state assumes, is quite another question, upon which I have not touched at all because it is of an incomparably minor importance. It is enough to say that this feeling of dependence upon the state was extremely developed in the ancient classical republics. Thus, speaking everywhere of the sovereign power, I mean only the psychic factor, the feeling of dependence upon the state, and not the form which this feeling takes in reality.

The preceding discussion has prepared us for understanding the real position of Russia in the Slavonic world and the rise of the so-called panslavistic theory. It is the tendency, often unconscious, in the Slavonic masses outside of Russia to seek support against the aggressive tendencies of Western capital, labor and industry. To this can be added in Orthodox countries the unity of religion with Russia, very ancient reminiscences of the power of the Roman and afterward of the Byzantine emperors, which was transferred to the Emperor of Russia, more recent memories of help given by Russia during the Turkish yoke. On the other hand, Russia supports and will probably support the Slavonic elements outside of her limits, because otherwise they would be crushed by hostile forces and transformed into Germans, Roumanians, Magyars and even Italians. But Russia has never thought of subjugating these Slavonic countries, or of Russianizing them. The Slavophile party, which in the relations with the Slavs plays a prominent rôle, aims at an independent, national civilization, and this can only be attained when the Slavonic world preserves a variety of languages, political and social formations. In the Slavophile idea, unity without diversity is a uniformity of death; life presents itself always under different aspects. The Slavophiles say only that the Russian language should be much more known among the Slavs

than it is now, but it need not at all replace the national languages; it should only facilitate mutual intercourse among the Slavs, and in this sense its future position can be compared with that of the Latin language in mediæval Europe and the French in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Finally, in relation to the Orthodox church, the Slavophiles wish that it were accepted by all the Slavs, but this is not at all a necessary condition of union; it is only a means leading to greater cohesion and a manifest sign of a complete rupture with the religious, moral, even political conceptions of the West.

If we in conclusion take a final glance at this movement of the Slavs toward union, we shall find the same tendencies among the Italians, the Germans, the Americans (the Monroe doctrine), even among all the Latins (panlatinism) and Teutons (panteutonism). All these movements are, in my eyes, only steps toward the realization of that great dream of the philosophers from the time of Diogenes, of religious geniuses, of political utopists, of scientific scholars, toward a unification of all humanity into one great whole, based on mutual esteem, mutual love, and eternal justice. This union can be accomplished not by wars, not by exploitation, not by exaltation of one nation over the other, not by dominion of one people over the other; but, by mutual love and by the feeling of brotherhood among men as has been said by the greatest religious geniuses of the enslaved, uncultured and despised East.

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POLITICAL AND MUNICIPAL LEGISLATION IN 1897.*

While the great majority of the well-nigh innumerable laws passed by the forty state legislatures which held sessions in 1897, were of the usual routine and insignificant character, quite a number of the statutes are interesting and noteworthy as innovations in administration, so far at least as our own country is concerned, while others extend to additional states important principles already proved successfully applicable by sister commonwealths. It is one of the advantages of the federal system that individual states can undertake legislative experiments, without risk of injury to the entire nation, while all the other states may profit by the knowledge thus obtained as to the effect of such legislation. We are able to a certain degree to apply laboratory methods to politics. It has always been our western states which have shown themselves specially prone to enter upon untried paths in government, but, as might be expected, the great western Populist agitation of the past few years has resulted in the enactment of even more innovating legislation than usual. Some of the new measures are doubtless steps, though often stumbling ones, in the right direction; others are mere fleeting foam on the radical wave. In either case, however, they are worthy of study, both as possible guides, positive or negative, for legislation elsewhere, and as showing the temper of those classes who are bound, in their awakening, so strongly to influence our national life.

The Delaware Constitution.—While containing little that is novel from the standpoint of state legislation in general, the new constitution of Delaware, framed by a convention

* Previous papers in this series have appeared in the ANNALS for May, 1896, Vol. vii, p. 411, and March, 1897, Vol. ix, p. 231. Reference to them will aid in interpreting the significance of the legislation of 1897.

which met in December, 1896, presents very great changes from the former state constitution, which dated back as far as 1831. The constitution, in accordance with the practice more common in the South than the North, was promulgated by the convention itself, without submission to the people. After the fashion of most modern state constitutions it extends greatly the scope, and increases the minuteness of the regulations placed by the people upon their representatives and rulers. It introduces more democratic in place of the earlier aristocratic institutions. Thus the requirement that state senators be property owners is repealed, as is the restriction of the suffrage to those who have paid their poll and other taxes. On the other hand, however, the educational qualification for voting is introduced; those hereafter becoming electors must be able to read the constitution in English. The governor's power of appointment is now made subject to confirmation by the senate, but he is given the veto power, which was hitherto lacking. The attorney-general, state auditor, treasurer and commissioner of insurance, heretofore appointed officers, are now to be elected by popular vote. Many important commands and restrictions concerning legislation are introduced, not a few of these being provisions scarcely with propriety placed in a constitution or fundamental law. Special acts granting divorces, creating corporations or affecting various classes of local affairs are prohibited, though, as is natural enough in so small a state, local legislation concerning cities and certain other matters is not forbidden. Among the numerous other new regulations, the most interesting are the requirement that local option be given as to the suppression of the liquor traffic, and the strict prohibition on the issue of stock by corporations except for cash or for property or labor at their actual cash value.

Suffrage.—In view perhaps of the defeat of woman suffrage in the adjoining and precedent-giving State of California, the Nevada legislature failed to approve the constitutional

amendment granting women the ballot, which was submitted to it by its predecessor in 1895. In Oregon the conflict over the election of a United States Senator prevented entirely the organization of the legislature, so that the similar constitutional amendment, proposed in that state in 1895, was not voted upon. South Dakota, however, which is taking a prominent place as a leader in innovations, has submitted the question of woman suffrage to popular vote at the election of 1898. The recent marked tendency toward requiring educational qualifications for voting continues to manifest itself. The provision in the new Delaware constitution has been already mentioned. The North Dakota legislature has proposed to its successor a constitutional amendment introducing the educational test; while in Connecticut the amendment providing that the required reading of the constitution shall be in English was adopted by popular vote last September. Compulsory voting, an entirely new departure in this country, is proposed by North Dakota in a constitutional amendment, submitted to the next legislature, authorizing the establishment of penalties for failing or refusing to vote. The progress of the amendment and the working of the measure, if it is actually adopted, will be watched with great interest.

Primary Elections.—Now that so much progress has been made by secret ballot and corrupt practices acts toward purifying the election polls, legislators are turning growing attention to the even more important and difficult problem of reforming the nomination system. The provision, found in all the Australian ballot laws, for independent nominations by petition of a certain number of voters, has accomplished little. The caucuses and primaries of the great political parties themselves must be reorganized so as to prevent the domination of corrupt machines and to permit a free expression of the will of the entire membership of the party in the selection of candidates. Massachusetts, by her laws of 1894 and 1895, has done perhaps more than any

other state in this direction, but California and Wisconsin are not far behind. The act adopted by the former state in 1895, for San Francisco only, has now been improved and extended throughout the state. It provides that all parties must hold their primary elections, for choosing delegates to nominating conventions, at the same time and place and under the joint supervision of officers elected by the county election commissioners from representations of the leading parties. The number of delegates is officially fixed, and official election registers are used to determine the qualification of voters. Each voter may cast his ballot for delegates to the convention of any one party he sees fit, on taking oath that he expects to support the party at the election. Rigid provisions are made to prevent fraud, "packing" of primaries, etc.; while, following the example set by Ohio last year, each candidate is required, after the convention and before election, to make a detailed statement of his expenses incurred for the purpose of securing the nomination, the total of such expenditures being limited on the same principle as are those of candidates for election. The Wisconsin law of 1897 is likewise based on one of 1895, which applied to Milwaukee city and county only. The present act is mandatory in all cities of over 10,000 population, and may be adopted by any town, village or city on popular vote. Each party has a separate primary and chooses its own officers. Preliminary meetings are, however, called a few days before the primary, at which any person may, at will, propose names of delegates to the party convention. The names are all placed, in an order to be determined by drawing at random, on a blanket ballot. The voter at the primary, in secret, marks a cross opposite those whom he wishes for delegates, up to the number to which the precinct is entitled. Any voter duly qualified, as shown by the official election registry lists, must be allowed to take part in the primary, provided that, in case he is challenged, he swears that he voted for the party at the last election.

Missouri also adopts, for St. Louis only, a primary election law with some improved features, and Delaware enacts somewhat similar provisions for New Castle county, the seat of the city of Wilmington.

Elections Generally.—We have already noticed in previous years a tendency among various states to amend the Australian ballot laws in such a way as to make party voting, as distinguished from independent voting, easier. This movement was carried further by the legislation of 1897. Three states, New Hampshire, Nebraska and Wyoming, joined the several which had already changed the form of the blanket ballot from the original arrangement of candidates alphabetically, under the name of the office, to the arrangement in party columns, giving an opportunity for "straight" voting of the entire party ticket. Nearly half of the states introduced at first the alphabetic ballot, but barely a third of them now retain it. The party column blanket ballot is used in all the others except Connecticut, New Jersey and Missouri, the latter state having in 1897 abandoned it. These three states provide separate ballots for each party. The elector is given a ballot of each kind and casts secretly the one which he selects. He may make, of course, such modifications as he wishes in the ticket, but obviously he will be somewhat less apt to vote a mixed ticket than under the blanket ballot system.

Another measure which seems to tend against the freest action of the popular will in selecting officers, had already been enacted by Michigan and Ohio in preceding years, and was adopted by Illinois, Indiana, North Dakota, Wisconsin and Wyoming in 1897. This provides that no candidate's name may appear as the nominee of more than one party or group of voters, but that a person so nominated must formally select the party or group for which he wishes to run. A Pennsylvania law allows the candidate to appear once as a party nominee and once as a nominee by paper, but no more. Partial fusion of parties in the nomination of candi-

dates is thus checked. It is difficult to discover sufficient justification for this restriction.

The movement toward the use of ballot machines continues. Minnesota joins the few states which authorize their employment in all elections, while California provides for a commission to examine instruments and report an act to the next legislature. New York and Michigan have extended somewhat their existing provisions for the use of these improved devices.

Corrupt Practices.—Wisconsin was the only state to enact during 1897, a general corrupt practices law, such as have become popular of late years, defining offences against the suffrage, requiring reports of expenditures by candidates and committees, and restricting the purposes of such expenditures. Her law is, however, relatively rudimentary, lacking especially those limitations on the amount of outlay by candidates which have usually been embodied in the more recent acts. One new feature is the prohibition of contributions to promote the nomination or election of state assemblymen and senators, by persons living outside the district for which they are to be chosen. A more important innovation has been adopted by Tennessee, Missouri and Nebraska. These states forbid absolutely contributions by corporations to parties or candidates, or for influencing elections in any way. It has been charged that the railways exercise a strong influence in politics in these and other western states, and while both the propriety of such unqualified prohibition and the possibility of preventing the abuse by laws alone may be questioned, some step in this direction was doubtless expedient. The example will probably be followed by other states. California, always in the van,—so far, at least, as mere legal enactments go,—in the attack on political corruption, has prohibited solicitation from candidates for any state or local legislative body of promises to support or oppose a particular measure or policy in case of election, as well as the making of such promises by candidates. Public declarations of principles are, of course, excepted.

A somewhat curious and entirely new measure, adopted by Indiana, gives legal recognition to the polling of voters by political parties. Before election any party is entitled to take such a poll and to require answers from voters themselves, or from heads of families, hotel and lodging house keepers, concerning the names, residence and qualifications of voters.

The Initiative and Referendum.—The movement in favor of direct legislation by the people, which has manifested itself of late years in the increased practice of referring specific subjects of state or local legislation to popular vote, and in the increasing agitation for a general use of the initiative and referendum, has at last culminated in some of our western states. South Dakota goes furthest by proposing a constitutional amendment, to be voted upon in November next, declaring that

“the people reserve to themselves the right to propose measures, which measures the legislature shall enact and submit to a vote of the electors of the state, and also the right to require that any laws which the legislature may have enacted shall be submitted to a vote of the electors of the state before going into effect, . . . provided that not more than five per centum of the qualified electors of the state shall be required to invoke either the initiative or the referendum.”

The sister State of Nebraska has meanwhile enacted a law, to take immediate effect, introducing the same principle for all local subdivisions,—counties, townships, cities, villages and school districts,—but not for the state government itself. A petition of 15 per cent of the voters is necessary to initiate measures, or to demand the reference of proposed measures to the people. The question must then be submitted to a vote at the next general election, but if the petition be signed by 20 per cent of the electors and contain a request for a more immediate vote, a special election must be held. The local legislative body may suggest amendments to measures proposed by popular initiative. In such case the original and modified propositions must both be placed on the ballot.

Unless a majority declares itself against both forms, the form receiving the most affirmative votes becomes law. The introduction of the initiative and referendum in certain cases to county government in California and to city government in Minnesota will be described under another head.

Civil Service.—The steady progress of civil service reform in state and nation has at last aroused the professional politicians to the danger of losing their means of sustenance, and attacks of unusual virulence have recently been made on the merit principle in appointments. By holding up rotation in office as a part of the democratic ideal, and by pointing out the occasionally impractical character of civil service examinations, the spoilsmen have succeeded in checking, doubtless only temporarily, the forward movement. In Maryland, indeed, they brought about the defeat of the proposed constitutional amendment providing for the examination system, by the great majority of 84,391 to 15,875. Moreover, the civil service law in New York has been made over on a plan proposed by Governor Black, who aimed to "take the starch out" of the system. While the governor was probably fairly sincere in his purpose of making the administration of the civil service less doctrinaire and more business like, the new law can scarcely fail to act as a loophole, to those officials who seek to make it such, for practically complete admission of the spoils principle. Hereafter the examinations given by the civil service commission are to determine only the "merit" of the applicant for office, and are to count only one-half in this grading. The appointing officer is to "examine" and grade the candidate as to his "fitness" for the position—this division of the tests being based on a supposed distinction in the meaning of the words "merit" and "fitness" in the state constitution. There is absolutely no direction in the statute as to the nature of the examination which the appointing officer shall make—apparently it might consist merely of looking at the candidate or of feeling the wires pulled in his

favor. The sum of the grades given by commission and appointing officer fixes the final rank of the candidate.

The practice of giving preference to veteran soldiers and sailors in public employment, which is deprecated by many civil service reformers, nevertheless continues to find favor with state legislatures. Michigan and New Jersey are added to the states which have required that veterans be preferred in state and local appointments, and have forbidden their removal except for cause, after hearing. Illinois also provides that soldiers and sailors passing the local civil service examinations shall be placed ahead of other candidates, regardless of their relative grading.

While civil service reform has thus been set back somewhat in a few states, it has made minor advances in Wisconsin and Pennsylvania. The former state extends her law of 1895, applying to the city of Milwaukee, to the Milwaukee county government, and improves it in various ways, notably by prohibiting assessments on office holders for political purposes or the use of political influence to secure appointments or promotions. Pennsylvania likewise prohibits political assessments, but specifically allows voluntary contributions by office holders. An absolute prohibition of payments by appointive officers for political objects will probably be the next step.

State Legislatures.—An interesting constitutional amendment is proposed in California for action by the people in November, 1898. This is to lengthen the maximum duration of the legislative session from sixty to seventy-five days, and to require that after the first twenty-five days of the session a recess of not less than thirty nor more than sixty days shall be taken. No new bill may be brought in after this recess except by consent of three-fourths of the members present. While this latter exception will in practice probably allow the introduction of very many bills of a less important nature, the change will certainly tend to give more time for discussion by the legislators and for the

formation and ascertainment of public opinion. So far as the sounding of popular sentiment may be the object of this proposed measure, it bears some relation to the broader movement for direct legislation.

Tennessee has attempted the impossible in enacting a law prohibiting absolutely lobbying with members of the legislature. Lobbying is defined as "personal solicitation by private interview, letter, message or other means or appliance not addressed solely to the judgment." West Virginia briefly and without defining the term prohibits lobbying on the floors of the legislative halls themselves; but apparently convenience is the chief object of this act.

Local Government Generally.—A law of some interest as showing the increasing decay of the old self-governing township system with the growth of population, is that passed by New York last year, providing that town meetings shall hereafter be held only once in two years instead of annually, and giving township officers a biennial term. The direct control of the people in the government is thus considerably reduced. In fact the initiative and referendum are apparently fast taking the place of popular assemblages as a means of expressing the people's will in local affairs. Aside from the instances already mentioned where the system is introduced in general form, two states last year adopted it for specific cases. In California it is enacted that whenever 50 per cent of the voters of any county petition for the passage of an ordinance or measure of any kind, the county supervisors must submit it to vote, a majority of the ballots cast on the proposition being sufficient to determine its adoption or rejection. The same state has also introduced for counties the practice already employed for cities, of allowing the people themselves, by majority vote, to adopt a frame of government, to be drafted by a board of fifteen freeholders elected by the qualified voters. Such a measure may regulate the character, terms, salaries, etc., of officers, the manner of conducting primary and general elections and various

other weighty matters. The legislature may approve or reject the law as a whole, but has no power to amend it. In Minnesota, where the people adopted in 1896 a constitutional amendment allowing cities to frame their own charters according to the California plan, an act, framed on very broad lines, was passed in 1897 to carry the measure into effect; and a further constitutional amendment was proposed to be voted upon this November, providing that, on petition of five per cent of the voters of a city proposing an amendment to a charter adopted in this way, the amendment must be submitted to popular vote.

The Greater New York Charter.—One of the most important political events of 1897-98 was the consolidation of Brooklyn and numerous smaller municipalities with New York City, thus forming a metropolis second in size to London. The charter which is to govern this huge city was framed by a commission of fifteen members, some eminent as publicists, others of more doubtful fame as politicians and office holders. The time given to the preparation of the measure was confessedly far too short. Though disapproved by many thoughtful citizens, and though "vetoed," under the provision of the state constitution, by Mayor Strong of New York, the bill was rushed through the state legislature under party coercion with very inadequate consideration. The charter, while representing no little study and the doubtless sincere beliefs of the majority of the commission, leaves much to be desired. It perpetuates the most anomalous features of the former law governing New York City, and its innovations harmonize little with existing institutions.

The charter commission has sought to rehabilitate the city council, which had become a mere laughing stock, by establishing an upper and lower board, by giving the former a four years' term, and by increasing the number of the lower body to sixty, as well as by restoring to the council some powers which had been taken from it. But the division of the council is of doubtful advantage, the increased

membership is scarcely commensurate to so immense a population, and the power granted is still but limited, so that, in all probability, little will be accomplished toward making the council the real central authority in government. The illogical and peculiar "board of estimate and apportionment," composed of five leading executive officers, is retained. While its previously absolute control in fixing the city budget is now shared with the council, which may reduce but not increase its appropriations, it is likely that the board of estimate, which has control in many other directions also, will continue to be as heretofore the power behind the throne.

One real step in advance sought by the new charter is the granting of greater "home rule" to the city. Heretofore all enterprises requiring bond issues, no matter how small, have had to be specifically authorized by the legislature. Such enterprises may now be instituted by the city alone, but subject to the co-ordinate control of the city council, the board of estimate and a new "board of public improvements." This arrangement, designed to prevent abuse, has gone too far in its establishment of checks and balances; it can scarcely fail unduly to divide responsibility or to bring about deadlocks. Moreover, there is nothing to prevent future legislatures from directly or indirectly disregarding or repealing the grant of home-rule.

Probably a more important reform step than that just described is the new regulation of public franchises. Competitive bids, which have usually proved so unsatisfactory in the case of street railways, where they are required by the general state laws of New York, are not to be introduced for disposal of other franchises. All grants, however, both of railway and other privileges, require concurrent approval of the board of estimate and of three-fourths of the members of the city council. The former body is required to consider carefully the conditions and value of the franchise and to fix rates of charge to the public, compensation to the city,

and other terms. Most significant is the limitation of the duration of franchises to twenty-five years, although the city may agree to renew the grant to the same persons at a fair revaluation for not more than twenty-five years longer.

The mayor of Greater New York is to have a four years' term instead of two years, as before. He retains the sole power of appointment, but his right of summary removal is restricted, as under the previous law, to the first six months of his term of office—contrary to the advice of Mayor Strong, who wished it made absolute. There is still little uniformity or system as to the composition or term of office of the various departmental heads, some of which are single officers, others boards of varying size and character.

Municipal Franchises.—The recent and growing popular agitation concerning the management of municipal property, works and privileges is beginning to bear fruit in legislation. A large proportion of our states now allow cities and towns themselves to construct and operate lighting as well as water plants. Washington last year went further and authorized the establishment of municipal street railways. Especially is there a tendency to regulate the granting of franchises to private individuals and companies. The chief advances are in limiting the duration of such grants, in demanding some commensurate payment for them, and in making them subject to direct popular control. The provisions of the new charter of New York in this regard have just been described. Far more radical is a Kansas law of 1897, which, however, applies only to light, heat, power and water plants. This act requires the grantees of franchises to report in minute detail the exact cost of constructing their plant, and semi-annually thereafter the exact receipts and expenditures of every sort. A profit of six per cent per annum is to be allowed on the actual investment shown by these statements, and the entire surplus of receipts is to go to the public treasury, unless a higher allowance be made to the holders of the

franchise by consent of three-fifths of the taxpayers. No grant may be for more than twenty years, and after ten years the municipality may buy the plant at an appraised valuation. This law, imposing terms even more severe than those regulating public franchises in any European city, will, if strictly enforced, probably hinder investment of capital in municipal enterprises and, while perhaps just theoretically, may prove of doubtful expediency. Had provision been made for sharing between city and franchiseholder the surplus profits, the law would be more advantageous.

Several other states have adopted the practice of requiring franchises of all sorts to be disposed of upon competitive bids. While this system may prevent jobbery, in part, experience shows that it does not ordinarily win for the public a reasonable payment for privileges granted. Real competition is seldom possible, especially in the case of renewals or additional grants after one corporation has become thoroughly established. California, adopting this practice in 1897, prescribes further that the minimum payment to the municipal treasury for any kind of public franchise shall be three per cent of the gross receipts. No payment whatever is to be made, however, during the first five years of the grant. Wisconsin has passed a somewhat similar law, whose adoption is left to local option. The municipality is to fix such conditions as it sees fit as specifications in advertising for bids. Annual reports of gross receipts must be made by grantees of franchises, whether percentages upon them are demanded or not. The terms of franchises may not be altered without consent of the holders. Regarding light and water plants it is further enacted by another law that any proposed franchise may be submitted to popular vote and must be so submitted if twenty per cent of the voters petition. Minnesota prohibits all perpetual franchises, and provides that, if privileges are made exclusive, they must be limited to ten years and approved by popular vote. This latter provision signifies

little since evidently a large proportion of such grants, though not exclusive formally, are so practically.

Specific conflicts concerning public monopolies in New York City and in Chicago led last year to the enactment of two laws, one marking a partial, the other a complete surrender to the corporations. The well-known enormous profits of the gas companies in the former city led to a movement to reduce the price by law from \$1.25 to \$1.00 per thousand feet, but the companies succeeded in modifying the bill so that the reduction will take place gradually, by five cents each year, instead of summarily. A measure really designed to prevent the Chicago city council from reducing street car fares took the form of a general act declaring that the right to charge five cent fares, granted by existing ordinance in any city, may not be taken away during the term of the original franchise; and that city councils may extend any street railway franchise,—without the consent of abutting property owners which is required for the original grant,—for fifty years, the rate of fare to be not more nor less than five cents during the first twenty years. On new grants the fare may be fixed at any rate not over five cents, but may not then be altered for twenty years.

Miscellaneous Legislation.—Some of the numerous important laws of a less directly political or municipal character may be briefly mentioned. New and interesting is the Pennsylvania act requiring that all employers of unnaturalized foreigners must pay three cents per day tax for each alien laborer during his employment. The preamble of the law frankly states its purpose to restrict unfair competition with citizens. Employers must also pay poll and other taxes assessed against such laborers, deducting them from wages.*

*The act was declared unconstitutional, in the case of *Fraser vs. McConway*, by the United States Circuit Court for the Western District of Pennsylvania, on August 26, 1897. (Reported in *Pennsylvania District Reports*, Vol. vi., p. 555.) The case has been appealed to a higher court, whose decision is pending.

The apparently great success, during the short period of its operation, of the New York law of 1896, prohibiting the contracting out of convict labor and providing that prisoners shall be employed only in manufacturing goods for use in public institutions, has led several states to take steps in the same direction. Indiana alone adopts a thoroughgoing measure on the New York pattern, but Massachusetts, Nebraska, Michigan, Tennessee and North Dakota have passed partial or preliminary acts with this end in view. Another prison reform movement which has made rapid strides of late years is that providing for indefinite sentences and paroles, except in the case of most heinous crimes, or of habitual criminals. Indiana, Connecticut, Idaho and Alabama last year passed laws, of varying degrees of fullness and excellence, on this important subject. The practice already adopted by various states, of placing the pardoning power of government, so often abused, under the co-ordinate control of a board of several members, was further introduced by Minnesota, Illinois and Washington in 1897, while Delaware's new constitution and a proposed constitutional amendment in North Dakota provide also for boards of pardons. Colorado has abolished capital punishment.

Arkansas, apparently under populistic influence, has established an *ex-officio* board to construct and operate one or more state railways. Wishing to avoid the experience of Tennessee, which earlier burdened itself with a heavy debt by building railways, Arkansas provides that the road shall be paid for by donations of money and land from local authorities, and by the issue of bonds secured solely by the road itself, and not binding the state as such. Whether such capital will keep such an enterprise is questionable.

The Torrens land transfer system was adopted by California in 1897, while Illinois revised her law of 1895 so as to cure the unconstitutional features pointed out by the courts.

Inheritance taxes continue to grow in favor, and direct inheritances are coming more and more to fall under levy,

although at a lower rate than collateral inheritance. Montana and Minnesota last year established the tax on both kinds of inheritance, while Connecticut and Pennsylvania, which already had the collateral tax, have extended it to direct inheritances also, the former at one-half of one per cent on all property above \$10,000, the latter at two per cent on all above \$5000. A law introducing a strongly progressive rate into the existing collateral inheritance tax was adopted by the New York legislature, but was vetoed by the governor. North Carolina and South Carolina have both adopted progressive income taxes, perhaps the most radical tax legislation yet passed among our commonwealths. The former state levies five per cent on income from property not otherwise taxed, one-half of one per cent on income from salaries and fees, and from one-fourth of one per cent to two per cent on all other incomes according to their amount, the highest rate applying to all incomes over \$20,000 yearly. The South Carolina law proposes to tax incomes from whatever source at a rate graduated from one per cent on those between \$2500 and \$5000 to three per cent on those above \$15,000. It is to be feared that the imperfect tax machinery of these southern states will fail to give a fair test of the working of the progressive income tax.

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PROPOSED REFORMS OF THE MONETARY SYSTEM.

The most obvious defects of the present monetary system of the United States are its rigidity, the large proportion of credit-money, and the isolation of the ultimate redemption agency, the National Treasury, from the loan market. Other defects, such as variety in the form and legal tender quality of government obligations, are not grave; they do not menace public credit or the standard of value. Fortunately, the grave defects mentioned are so closely related that if any one is corrected, the other two must cease to cause much annoyance. If the system is made elastic, some of the causes leading to the exportation of gold and to embarrassing demands upon the treasury will cease to exist; or if the volume of credit-money is reduced, gold will be more abundant and will be more easily obtained when wanted for export; or if the business of issue and redemption can be deputed to a governmental bank similar to the Bank of England or the Bank of France, sufficient control of the loan market can be obtained to check movements of gold due to temporary irregularities of the money supply. A plan for the improvement of the monetary system must be appraised by its promise to yield one or more of these desirable results. The purpose of this paper is a critical examination of two plans recently laid before Congress and known respectively as the Gage plan and the Monetary Commission plan.

The Monetary Commission is an unofficial body of twelve men appointed as the result of a national convention of bankers and business men at Indianapolis in January, 1897. The members of this commission are men of experience and ability. They devoted several months to the study of the financial question and to the sifting of "plans" and suggestions submitted for their consideration. They finally

agreed upon a plan, and published it with a "preliminary report," in January, 1893. A bill embodying the provisions of this plan has been introduced in the House of Representatives.

The commission pointed out nine defects in the system, which may be briefly stated as follows: (1) The vast amount of government credit currency. (2) The continuance in circulation of government demand obligations. (3) The lack of provision for increasing the volume of the currency with the growth of the country. (4) The inelasticity of the system. (5) The imperfect distribution of loanable capital. (6) The confused functions of the treasury. (7) The diversity in the forms of government credit-money. (8) The circulation of silver dollars of a nominal value greater than their bullion value. (9) An unscientific bank currency. The third defect noted by the commission is, if I understand it aright, the expression of a very mischievous fallacy. It is stated as follows:

"The failure to provide the means for a gradual and sufficient increase of the volume of the currency to meet the needs of an increasing population and an enlarging commerce."

That statement assumes that the money supply in a system based on the free coinage of a metal is not always self-regulating and sufficient, a fallacy which encouraged many votes for the Bland-Allison Act in 1878, and for the Sherman Act in 1890. It implies that we must make some special effort to prevent a scarcity of money as the country grows. One might suppose on the first reading that reference is here made to the inelasticity of the present system, to its incapacity to adapt itself to temporary fluctuations in the demand for money; but as that fault is clearly described in the commission's fourth "defect," the inference is unavoidable that the commission believes the future needs of the country must be satisfied with paper or credit-money rather than with gold. The correctness of the inference is confirmed by the details of the commission's plan, for under its

operation any increase in the currency needs of the country would be met by an increase of credit-money. Yet, that the framers of the plan do not foresee or desire such a result is evident from the statement of their first "defect:"

"The vast amount of government credit currency without a certain and adequate provision for its redemption, and the consequent diminution of public confidence in the gold standard."

PLAN OF THE MONETARY COMMISSION.

The plan of the Monetary Commission proposes to create a separate division of the treasury for the issue and redemption of government credit-money, all kinds of which, except silver certificates, are to be redeemed in gold; to retire gradually all government notes within the next ten years; to protect the gold reserve by giving the Secretary of the Treasury authority to borrow in three different ways; and to establish a bank circulation unsecured by bonds, but protected by the joint liability of the issuing banks. The following is a more detailed summary:

1. **ISSUE AND REDEMPTION.**—To create a separate division of the Treasury, in which shall be deposited funds held against outstanding gold, silver and currency certificates, silver bullion behind the Treasury notes, and the guaranty and redemption funds of national banks; also gold equal to 25 per cent of all government notes and 5 per cent of all silver dollars (a total of about \$136,000,000). Redeem in gold all forms of government credit-money, including silver dollars, but not silver certificates, which shall be redeemed in silver dollars. Silver certificates shall be in denominations under \$10; all government and bank notes \$10 and above. Gold and currency certificates not to be reissued.

2. **GOVERNMENT NOTES.**—They shall be paid out only in exchange for gold coin and currency certificates; except that the secretary, at his discretion, may use them for the purchase of United States bonds. Government notes shall be canceled as follows: \$50,000,000 at once, then for five years dollar for dollar, as bank notes increase; after five years one-fifth each year, all being canceled after ten years.

3. **GOLD RESERVE.**—It must be kept large enough to maintain confidence. The secretary may replenish it from surplus revenues or by sale of silver bullion at his discretion, or by borrowing in one of three

ways: (1) by sale of 3 per cent twenty-year gold bonds payable after one year; (2) by sale of 3 per cent gold certificates of indebtedness payable in one to five years; (3) by borrowing at not over 3 per cent in sums not less than \$50, through sub-treasuries and post-offices, keeping record of loan on books and not issuing either bonds or certificates.

4. **BANKING.**—Issue of bank notes to be limited to capital. Lowest denomination \$10. Repressive tax of 2 per cent per annum on notes in excess of 60 per cent of capital and under 80 per cent; and of 6 per cent on notes in excess of 80 per cent of capital. The notes to be legal tender to national banks and to the government, duties on imports excepted.

(a) *Security.*—(1) Deposit of United States bonds equal in value to 25 per cent of capital, their value being fixed by secretary on 3 per cent basis. After five years this bond deposit shall be reduced one-fifth annually, ceasing after ten years. (2) A common guaranty fund in gold coin equal to 5 per cent of circulation; in case of its impairment all banks to be liable to assessment. (3) Notes to be first lien on assets of issuing bank. (4) Personal liability of stockholders to extent of stock.

(b) *Redemption.*—Each bank must maintain in the Treasury a redemption fund in gold coin equal to 5 per cent of its circulation. The present system of redemption by the government to be continued, sub-treasuries becoming redemption agencies.

(c) *Retirement of Notes.*—Proportionately to its payments of lawful money to the Treasury a bank's circulation to be treated as "reduced," and its liability to the guaranty fund correspondingly diminished.

(d) *Reserve.*—The present reserve requirements against deposits to be continued, but a bank shall not count its deposits in the redemption or guaranty funds as part of its reserve, nor its own notes as part of its cash assets. One-fourth of a bank's reserve must be "coin" held in its own vaults. No reserve required against circulation.

(e) *Miscellaneous.*—(1) Banks of \$25,000 capital permitted in places of 4000 population or less. (2) Branch banks should be authorized. (3) A tax of one-eighth of 1 per cent per annum on capital, surplus and undivided profits to cover expenses of the Treasury. (4) Existing banks must reorganize within one year.

It is the evident purpose of this plan to provide an elastic bank currency, to reduce the amount of government demand obligations, and to relieve the strain upon the National Treasury. If it were adopted, would it really result in an

improvement of the monetary system? After a careful and candid consideration of all the measures involved I am compelled to conclude that it would not. The proposed banking system is the vital feature of the plan; upon its successful operation the success of the whole depends. In its general character the banking plan is an application of the "Banking Principle," yet it is not a fair illustration of that principle; several important provisions are entirely new and have not the sanction of experience, while others have in the past been proved unsound. As a result of the defects of the proposed banking system it is most probable that the plan would not lessen the proportion of credit-money in existence, nor yield an elastic currency, nor lighten the burden of the United States Treasury. It is to be feared, indeed, that the plan, instead of removing present evils, would aggravate them and also add to their number. It would tend to diminish rather than to broaden the gold base of the monetary system; it would alienate from the national bank system some of the best banks in the country; it would supply inducements for contraction at times when there is greatest need of expansion; it would leave a door wide open for fraudulent practice. Unfortunately, the objectionable features of the plan cannot be removed simply by modifications; most of them are vital, and the plan must stand or fall with them. I will discuss the defects of the plan categorically.

First. *The plan would not lessen the proportion of credit-money in the currency.* It would merely substitute bank notes for government notes. At the present time the credit-money in use in the United States, including national bank notes, amounts to about \$1,100,000,000. It is estimated that there is also in use about \$700,000,000 in gold. The experience of this and other nations warrants the opinion that this is too large a proportion of credit-money. Our gold constitutes only about 35 per cent of the total money supply, whereas in England it is 72 per cent, in France 62 per cent, and in Germany 70 per cent. Even Russia, which has only just

adopted the gold standard, has a currency consisting of 50 per cent gold. The United States, being one of the largest commercial nations of the earth, must always be prepared to face a large adverse balance of trade, requiring large exports of gold to foreign countries. Our experience during recent years has certainly made it plain that we should be in a position to spare several million dollars of gold at any time without exciting the apprehension that we are likely to depart from the gold basis. The supply of gold in the country should be so large that every bank can easily keep the greater part of its reserve in that metal. At the present time banks hold but a slender stock of it, and when alarmed over the outlook are tempted to add their demands to those of exporters, thus increasing the drain upon the National Treasury. It seems necessary, therefore, that any plan for the improvement of our currency which looks toward the permanent establishment of a sound system should provide for the enlargement of the gold basis. This the plan of the Monetary Commission fails to do. It proposes to retire the greenback and Sherman note, and to put in their place bank money, dollar for dollar.

It is possible, indeed, that the plan would increase the need of gold in the currency. The only kinds of money available for banking reserves would be gold, silver dollars and silver certificates. Of the silver money there would be about \$450,000,000, and over half of it would be outside of banks in active use among the people, for the silver certificate would be the only paper money in denominations under \$10. On October 5, 1897, the national banks held in their vaults \$389,000,000 in cash, and the state banks about \$170,000,000. Of the \$559,000,000 thus held by banks, \$240,000,000 was in gold, the rest being in silver and government notes. If the government notes are to be cancelled, something must be found to take their place in bank reserves. Since sufficient silver certificates would not be available, it may be argued that the banks must increase

their holdings of gold, and hence that the gold base of the monetary system would be broadened. It is possible that the plan would yield those results, but there are reasons for fearing that it would not. Experience has shown that under a system permitting the prompt issue of notes against general assets a smaller cash reserve is necessary than under a system permitting note issues only against deposits of coin or bonds. Of the \$389,000,000 cash held by the national banks last October \$100,000,000 was in excess of the law's requirement. Such an excess of cash is not desired even now and would certainly not be if the banks had the power to issue notes freely, particularly if their notes were so guaranteed and protected that their customers regarded them as practically equivalent to legal tender money. Again, banking institutions outside of the national system would find the new bank notes excellent substitutes for legal tender money. The bank notes would be easier to get in convenient form than gold or silver certificates, and would perform all the functions of either. Finally, even if the banks should increase their gold holdings, gold would not necessarily be added to the money supply. Under the plan, the National Treasury, as the government notes were retired, would reduce its holding of gold by about \$100,000,000. This gold would be available for use in bank reserves, and if still more were needed the banks would doubtless attract to their vaults part of the gold estimated to be in the country at present outside of banks and the treasury.

Thus, while it must be admitted that the plan might tend to lessen the proportion of credit-money, yet that result is not certain, nor even probable. The framers of the plan have apparently not thought it a result to be desired; they have, it would seem, consciously endeavored to construct a system that would put a bank note into the place of every government note that may be cancelled.

Second. *The plan will not make the currency elastic.* This defect is due to two provisions, that which makes the new

bank note legal tender in payments to banks and to the government, and that which makes all banks jointly liable for the notes of failed banks. These provisions will tend to render the bank currency rigid and inelastic. They will evidently secure to each note a much larger sphere of usefulness than it would possess if issued on the credit of a single bank. Bank notes having such qualities and so guaranteed, bulwarked also by the pledge that all the power and machinery of the government will be used to secure their redemption, will be accepted by the individual quite as readily as if they bore the government's unconditional guaranty. No man will hesitate to accept a bank note or inquire into the credit of the issuing bank if on its face it bears the assurance that all banks will accept it and the government receive it in payment of dues. Such a note, while it cannot form a part of the reserves of national banks, will be as good as any other kind of money for all state banks, private banks, savings banks, and trust companies. In fact, there is no reason why, if this plan is adopted, three-fourths of the money payments of ten dollars and above throughout the country should not be effected by the use of national bank notes. Excepting in the vaults of national banks, they will everywhere be as serviceable in the currency as a gold certificate.

It is possible for a bank note to be altogether too "good," just as a kite-frame may be too strong if strength is obtained at the expense of lightness. A bank note is too "good" when its "goodness" is obtained at the expense of elasticity, when its security is so great and its ultimate redemption so certain that it possesses practically all the utilities of money and so fills a permanent place in the circulation. A bank note is merely a bank's promise to pay money, and is entitled to acceptance and circulation solely because of the public's confidence in the promisor. The excuse for its issue is the fact that it is cheap and can be put forth exactly when wanted, so that if a community's needs for currency

suddenly increase, they may be promptly satisfied by the bank note. It acts upon prices exactly like any other form of credit, namely, by lessening the demand for money. If banks are unable to issue notes, evidently the increasing needs for currency in a community can either not be satisfied at all, so that prices will fall, or money must be imported into the community from outside. As a rule, money will not be brought in until its importation has been made profitable, either by a rise in the local rate of interest, or by a fall in local prices, either of which is always injurious to the interests of business men and producers. A monetary system which tends to prevent fluctuations in prices or rates of interest is better than one which does not. Under our present system, as is well known, the varying needs of localities can only be satisfied by shipments to and fro of currency, for the banks are unable out of their own resources to satisfy them. The national banks are not poor in credit. The experience of the public with them for thirty years has given them a strong hold upon general confidence. They have an abundance of credit, but in times when a locality's needs for money rise above the ordinary, they cannot make the most effective use of it. If at such times they were able to coin their credit and issue it in the form of authorized bank notes, those pieces of coined credit, even though unguaranteed by the government and possessed of no legal tender power, would serve in the community all the purposes of money and save many a business from the distress which is occasioned by a temporary shortage in the current medium of exchange.

It is important to notice the distinction between a bank note of the kind here briefly described, which resembles a certified check payable to bearer, and a bank note which bears the government's guaranty. The former will have a narrower field of circulation than the latter. It is issued because of local needs, and its usefulness will mainly be restricted to the local circulation; it will not pass beyond the

limits of the bank's credit, but will circulate only where the bank is known. There it will have value and acceptability, just as a certified check has value and acceptability within the radius of a bank's field of activity. There is no reason why it should be good both in Maine and Texas. The man who says he wants nothing to do with a bank note that is not good all over the country, could with just as much reason object to a fine painting because it does not satisfy his sense of hearing. He has a fundamentally wrong idea of the one important service a bank note can perform. The guaranteed bank note, which rests upon the credit of all banks and upon the government, will be equally good in Maine or Texas. It will disappear from the locality of the issuing bank as quickly as a greenback or gold certificate, and will tend to become, therefore, a permanent part of the country's circulation. The unguaranteed note, when the exigency calling it forth has ceased to exist, will be treated like a check or draft and presented to the bank either for redemption or on deposit. When the bank's customers want credit in a form available for distant payments, they will deposit the bank note and use the bank's credit in other forms. The guaranteed note, however, whether guaranteed by the government or by all the banks of issue, being as good in one part of the country as in another, will slip away from the locality of the issuing bank and remain in circulation long after the local need for money has resumed its normal dimensions. Consequently, while we secure expansion with a guaranteed note, we can by no means be certain that we will have prompt contraction as the needs of business diminish. The guaranteed note is too good a piece of paper. It resembles money too closely, being everywhere acceptable. To be sure, it may finally be presented for redemption at some distant point, and in time be returned by the government to the issuing bank. But that process will be slow. In the meantime mischief may have been done through a possible inflation of the currency and an unfavorable turn

in foreign exchange, due to a temporary redundancy of the money supply.

It may be urged that some of the most successful banks of Europe issue notes possessing full legal tender power, and therefore that the plan of the Monetary Commission should not be criticised on this score. A rapid comparison with European systems will show that no parallel exists. The notes of the Bank of England need not be considered, for they are secured by the deposit of securities and gold equal in value to the face of the notes. Practically, they are gold certificates. The notes of the Bank of France, however, which are legal tender everywhere excepting at the bank, are secured solely by the miscellaneous assets of the bank. The Bank of France has been one of the most successful of the great banks of Europe, but it is a mistake to assume that its career warrants the issue of legal tender notes as provided for by the plan of the Monetary Commission. It is one thing to permit the issue of such notes by a single great institution, closely connected in its organization and management with the government, and quite another thing to authorize such issue by 3600 isolated, independent institutions. The Bank of France, again, is the only institution in France from which gold can be withdrawn for export. The government and the public hold it responsible for the maintenance of the public credit and the standard of value. The bank, therefore, is restrained from over-issue of notes by the strongest motives of self-protection. If embarrassment seems likely to result from withdrawals of gold, it has at hand an instant remedy, for it may raise its discount rate and thereby restrict its note issues, thus correcting the redundancy of the circulation and easing the rates of foreign exchange. In this country, however, the 3600 issuing-banks would be influenced by no motive leading to a reduction of their circulation. The National Treasury would be obliged, then as now, to bear the burden when foreign exchange rose to the export point. The banks

would feel no responsibility on this score, and would continue to force into circulation as many of their notes as possible. That is, in fact, exactly what they did in 1894 and 1895, when the new issues of government bonds depressed the prices of government securities and so increased the profits on the issue of national bank notes. The banks increased their circulation and unconsciously inflated the currency at the very time when the government was doing its utmost to prevent inflation and check the exportation of gold.*

The banks of Belgium, Holland, and Sweden, whose notes are legal tender, are in a position very similar to that of the Bank of France. Each of them is closely related to its government, and must supply the gold that is demanded by exporters. Each of these banks, therefore, is able to regulate the volume of the domestic circulation, and is under a powerful inducement to check any tendency toward over-issue.

Third. *The plan of the Monetary Commission will not lessen the strain upon the National Treasury.* Although the greenbacks and the Sherman notes will no longer be in existence, their places will be taken by bank notes. There will also be in existence about \$450,000,000 in silver coin and certificates, the latter all being issued in ones, twos, and fives. The silver dollar is to become a direct obligation of the government, redeemable on demand in gold. Inasmuch as the bank note has to be redeemed by the government in legal tender money, it is evident that the holder of any kind of money, whether silver certificates or bank notes, may demand gold from the government. Indeed, a man who has a credit at any bank can convert that credit instantly into a gold obligation. If the government wishes to put difficulties in the way, the utmost it can do is to compel

*The unsatisfactory working of the national bank note system in 1894 and 1895, I have described in some detail in the *Bankers' Monthly* for June, 1897, and in a "Discussion of the Interrogatories of the Monetary Commission," published for the University of Pennsylvania.

him first to exchange his bank notes or silver certificates for silver dollars and then exchange the silver dollars for gold. It is difficult to see, therefore, how the government's position would be improved by the substitution of these bank notes for government notes. The treasury's position will, indeed, be fortified by the secretary's right to borrow at discretion for the replenishment of the gold reserve, but the exercise of that right will never be regarded with complacency by the country and should be treated as a last resort for protection against unforeseen and unusual emergencies. It may be left entirely out of account when considering the advantages of proposed modifications of the monetary system.

Doubtless, the framers of the plan assumed that the elasticity of the bank note circulation would result in a diminution of the demand for gold for export purposes. If the bank note circulation should prove to be genuinely elastic, expanding and contracting with the needs of the country, their assumption would undoubtedly be justifiable. Except in extraordinary times, the exportation of gold is always the result of a redundant money supply. This is a truth which economists and intelligent bankers have well understood for one hundred years. It was demonstrated in the famous Bullion Report of 1810 by a committee of English financiers and statesmen. It is plain, therefore, that if a bank note currency tends to reduce its volume as the demand for money decreases, it is an automatic corrective of redundancy, and so must lessen the necessity for gold exports. In like manner, by its expansion, it renders unnecessary the importation of gold because of a temporary increase in the need for money. The Monetary Commission, therefore, if it proposed an elastic bank currency, would be justified in hoping that its plan, even though it does not add to the gold in the country, and still leaves the government liable for the redemption of all forms of a large mass of credit-money, would lessen the exportation of gold and hence lessen the demands

upon the treasury. Unfortunately, however, as I have already shown, in consequence of the legal tender quality of the bank note and its conditional guaranty, there is danger that it would be less prompt in seeking retirement than in seeking issue. There can be no doubt about its expansion. Every banker would be prompted by the strongest motives of self-interest to force upon his customers his own notes; but those notes, when once out, because of their acceptability, because of the wide field in which they could operate and perform the services of money, not only would fill a large place in the circulation permanently, but would come in slowly for redemption.

Fourth. *The plan of the Monetary Commission will tend to increase the proportion of credit-money.* Not only does the plan provide for no enlargement of the gold base of our monetary system, but it takes a step in the opposite direction, for its operation would probably result in the proportionate diminution of that base. It is evident that if the present system be continued, no more credit-money being issued by the government, either of paper or silver, and no additional bank notes, the amount of gold in our currency will gradually increase with the growth of the country. As the demand for money increases in consequence of a swelling tide of business and of an increased population, the new gold from our own mines will be coined at our mints and find employment here at home. There will be a natural, gradual, almost unperceived augmentation of the gold base of our monetary system. That base has within the last five years been increased by about \$200,000,000, but the gain was effected by a conscious, expensive and painful process, the issue of bonds. After 1878, in spite of the fact that we were adding silver credit-money to the circulation, there was a gradual and healthy increase in the gold supply. The estimated amount of the stock of gold in 1878 was \$213,000,000; in 1888 it was \$711,000,000, which is also about its present amount. Since 1888 our net exports of gold have amounted to about

\$325,000,000. In that period we added to our supply of credit-money about \$250,000,000. A student who has mastered even the elements of finance, knows well enough that but for the issue of the credit-money we should have kept at home \$250,000,000 of the gold which we lost in those years.

Now, there is reason to believe that if the banking plan of the Monetary Commission is adopted, we shall go on, as in the last decade, satisfying our growing demand for currency with credit-money rather than with gold. My fear on this score is based again on the fact that the plan proposes for the country a bank note of excessive usefulness. As we have seen, these bank notes will be available for almost all the functions of money that can be performed by notes of ten dollars and above. The only place where they will be valueless, as compared with legal tender money, will be in the reserves of the national banks. Inasmuch as it will be to the interest of every national banker in the country to obtain for his notes the largest possible circulation, since they cost him practically nothing and all income from them is pure profit, is it not probable that as the growth of the country occasions need for new currency, these bank notes will be forced into the vacuum? Among individuals, because of their guaranty and acceptability with banks and with the government, they will be indistinguishable from legal tender money. Consequently, the conclusion seems inevitable that as the country grows, the volume of bank money will expand and the volume of gold remain stationary. Thus, as the years go on, the ratio of standard money to credit-money in the circulation, instead of growing larger, thereby rendering our system more and more sound and secure, will steadily grow less, until the gold movements from the country will seem even more fraught with peril than now.

Fifth. *The best banks would probably not take out circulation.* This defect of the plan of the Monetary Commission

grows out of the joint responsibility which the banks must assume for the redemption of all bank notes. A bank when taking out its circulation must deposit in legal tender money an amount equal to 5 per cent of its circulation. This deposit is known as the guaranty fund. If a bank fails and its assets are not sufficient for the redemption of its outstanding notes, the government draws upon the guaranty fund, and other banks are at once assessed for an amount sufficient to make good the impairment of the fund. The assessment is proportionate to the amount of each bank's circulation. Evidently there is a possibility, in case of panic, speculation, and bad banking, that the guaranty fund may be many times exhausted and the solvent banks heavily assessed. It will not do to assume that banks will be managed with the same conservatism that has characterized the operations of national banks during the last thirty years, for the plan not only makes the business of banking more profitable than it has been, but introduces entirely new features into banking, so that we are not justified in assuming that the ratio of failures in the future will be practically what it has been in the past. Therefore, the fact that the safety fund during the last thirty years would have been very slightly impaired by bank failures cannot be taken as a basis of estimate with regard to its probable impairment under the plan suggested by the Monetary Commission.

At the present time the capital stock of national banks amounts to about \$650,000,000 and of state banks to about \$230,000,000. If the profits of banking under the new plan prove greater than under the old, more capital will enter the business, the state banks will probably be converted into national banks, and the total capital stock of national banks will be indefinitely larger than at present. There are now about 3600 national banks; what the number would be if this plan were adopted can only be conjectured. We should have several thousand banks, scattered in all parts of the country, authorized to issue notes against their assets, and for

the ultimate payment of these notes all the banks would be jointly responsible. The soundest and most conservative banks in the country would not enter into a scheme of this sort. It would be a blind pool in which losses, not profits, are divided. No banker likes to assume an indefinite liability. His whole training makes him shrink from entering any scheme, no matter what the promise of profit, which may make him share losses due to the misfortunes, the stupidity, or the fraud of men with whom he has no business dealings. Under this plan every banker would be, in a sense, a member of an unlimited partnership. He would be unacquainted with his partners and unable to regulate their conduct. In all probability this view of the case would present itself so forcibly to our best bankers that they would issue no notes at all. The plan does not compel the national bank to issue any circulation; consequently, those banks that desired to be absolutely certain of their solvency, or at least to have their liabilities entirely within their own control, would doubtless continue merely as banks of deposit and discount. Hence, in all probability, the notes issued under this plan would not be secured by the assets of many of our strongest banks. They would be put forth by bankers willing to take chances in order to pay large dividends. Every business man knows that banking of that sort should not be encouraged.

Sixth. *Under the Monetary Commission's plan contraction might naturally result when expansion was most needed.* Let us grant that the plan is approved by the bankers of the country and that they do issue a circulation of \$670,000,000, which is equal to the outstanding greenbacks, Sherman notes and present bank notes. What would happen in case a panic threatened? That is the time when a scientific bank note system is capable of most service to the country. Then the demand for money increases with frightful rapidity, and unless the volume of the circulating medium is increased, interest rates rise and prices fall, throwing many individuals

and firms into undeserved bankruptcy. At such a time the demand for loans is not a demand for capital, but a demand for the medium of exchange. Individual credit is in a state of collapse; creditors are not satisfied with the individual's promise to pay; they demand payment in a medium of general acceptability. At the outbreak of a panic public confidence in the solvency of banks is not lessened. The credit of banks, therefore, when issued in the form of a circulating medium, is able in the beginning to satisfy the increased demand for money, and if it is permitted to do so, that acute stage of a panic which is marked by runs on banks and is the result of a general loss of confidence, may be prevented.

Would such a healthful expansion take place under the plan of the Monetary Commission? On the contrary, many bankers would be under strong temptation to reduce rather than to increase their circulation. The first duty of a bank is to guard against its own insolvency. It is the custodian of other people's money; it must protect them against loss. If a bank manager foresees failures among business men and among banks, whatever the cause, whether excessive speculation, the misuse of capital, or the threat of war, he seeks at once to strengthen the position of his own bank. He cannot restrict his loans arbitrarily, for that would tend to precipitate a panic in his own locality and bring ruin upon his own customers. Such a policy is now well understood among bankers to be short-sighted and liable to react with injury upon the bank. But under this plan there would be one liability from which he might escape, his liability for the redemption of the notes issued by other banks. His inability to measure the danger would increase his anxiety to be rid of it. I believe, therefore, that many of the stronger banks, as soon as there was fear of panic, would promptly forward legal tender money to the nearest sub-treasury and cancel their note circulation. This action would be permitted under the plan, which provides as follows: "Any bank may

deposit any lawful money with the treasurer of the United States for the retirement of any of its notes; whereupon the comptroller shall direct the repayment to such bank of whatever sum may be the unimpaired portion of said bank's contribution to the guaranty fund on account of said notes." Thus, there is danger that the plan, instead of giving the country a larger volume of money in times of distress, would cause a contraction of the currency and so aggravate the very evils which a bank note circulation designed to alleviate.

Seventh. *The Monetary Commission's plan offers easy opportunity for fraud.* A bank act constructed upon the principles of this plan would, in my opinion, prove a veritable Klondike for the swindler. If the plan were in operation, a half dozen men of the class who make their living off the weakness and stupidity of the public, if they could raise \$54,000, could without difficulty establish a bank in any locality. They could issue notes up to \$30,000 merely upon the deposit of \$3000 with the government, and could issue an additional \$10,000 upon making a deposit of \$1000 and the payment of a 2 per cent tax, or \$200. Thus their total payments to the government on a circulation of \$40,000 would amount to \$4200. Possibly they might secure deposits from the community, but theoretically that would not be necessary. Having loaned their capital and notes to confederates, in due time they could cause the bank to be forced into insolvency. Their gross profits, since the bank notes would be easily converted elsewhere into legal tender money, would amount to about \$35,000, and the whole transaction need not occupy the gentlemen engaged in it for over two weeks. I do not mean to imply that such operations would be conducted quite so brazenly as I have assumed to be possible, but that possibility would exist, and beyond question the country contains a number of men who would make the most of it, even though in order to avoid the necessity of flight from the country they

should be obliged to maintain for some months or years an apparent honesty of purpose as bankers. It will be noted that I have assumed in my illustration that no deposit of bonds is required as security for the notes. The plan, indeed, provides for a deposit of bonds equal to 25 per cent of the capital, but at the end of ten years this requirement is to cease. I have chosen to consider the manner in which the plan would operate after it had reached its ultimate form. The bond deposit would, of course, reduce the profits of the swindlers by at least \$12,500, leaving the gross profit about \$23,000. I think even that sum would be sufficient to induce more than one man of easy conscience to take up the study of banking.

Such, as they appear to me, are the objections to the plan of the Monetary Commission. Are they not equally applicable to any plan for the issue of notes against assets? Am I not simply repeating old objections to the "banking principle," arguments of the kind that resulted in the Bank of England's adoption of the "currency principle?" Questions of this sort are probably in the minds of those readers who are convinced that no bank notes should be permitted unless they are based upon security equal in value to their face. In order to answer these questions and show that the defects of the Monetary Commission's plan are not inherent in any plan based upon the "banking principle," I will briefly compare it with the Canadian and other systems. Such a comparison will make it evident that the plan is not the product of experience, but of theory.

The plan differs in four important respects from the Canadian system. First, Canadian bank notes are not fully guaranteed even by the banks. The Canadian Safety Fund of 5 per cent, may be utilized for payment of the notes of a failed bank, but the solvent banks are not liable to indefinite assessment. The law provides that the assessment for the repairment of the safety fund shall not in one year exceed 1 per cent of a bank's circulation. Thus

Canada bankers know the worst which they may have to face on account of the mistakes of their competitors.

Second. The Canadian bank note is not legal tender for any purpose whatever. Hence its place in the circulation depends entirely upon its acceptability among the people. It is merely a credit-instrument of the issuing bank, being more secure than a check or draft mainly because of its first lien upon assets. The government does not promise to redeem the notes, but compels the banks themselves to make provision for redemption. Thus their volume fluctuates just as does the volume of other credit paper, such as checks and drafts and personal notes, rising and falling with the varying needs of business.

In the third place, the creation of a note-issuing bank in Canada is not permitted until after the proposed incorporators have been subjected to a thorough investigation both by the government and by the interested proprietors of existing banks. Applicants for a bank charter must deposit with the Minister of Finance legal tender money equal to half the amount of the desired capital stock before their application is considered. During the interval which must elapse before it is granted, the fact of the application is advertised, and the investigation by the government is reinforced by the scrutiny of bankers themselves, who do not propose to have their safety fund liability increased by the establishment of a bank under men of unknown or unworthy character.

In the fourth place, there are in Canada only thirty-nine bank corporations which issue notes, and their minimum capital stock is \$500,000. The Canadian law does not contemplate the issue of notes by a large number of small institutions. It is assumed that the difficulty of supervision would be too great. The wants of small communities are easily satisfied through the agencies or branches of the large banks. Thus in Canada every note-issuing bank is liable to a limited extent for the mistakes committed by only thirty-

eight other institutions. It is possible to keep informed with regard to the condition of thirty-eight banks. Furthermore, if any one of these thirty-eight banks seems reluctant to let its real condition be known, or seems disposed to engage in speculative enterprises, its rivals can easily bring it to terms. They can refuse to accept its notes on deposit, and so bring the offending bank into very unwholesome discredit. Canadian bankers do not find it necessary to employ this method of coercion; the mere knowledge that it may be employed seems sufficient to check any tendency in the wrong direction.

But can it not be urged against the Canadian system that it tends to prevent an accumulation of gold in Canada? As Canada grows is it not likely that the bank circulation will expand and so render unnecessary an enlargement of the gold base of its system? There seems to be no reason why these questions should be answered in the affirmative. The possible circulation of bank notes which lack any legal tender quality or government guaranty cannot be estimated. Their volume will depend entirely upon their acceptability, and that is a product of two things, bank credit and the popular liking for paper money. If the Canadian preference for paper over coin does not increase and the credit of banks receives no shock in the future, it is reasonable to expect that the present ratio between Canadian credit-money and gold will continue unchanged as the country grows.

Furthermore, it should be noted that Canada's liabilities with regard to gold are entirely different from those of the United States. The United States is one of the largest gold-producing countries in the world, and is also one of the wealthiest. It is always liable to the inconvenience of a large and so-called unfavorable balance of trade. It may be called upon to export to Europe in a single year \$70,000,000 in gold. It must, therefore, have an abundance of the metal in its circulation, for otherwise the security of its monetary system may at any time seem to be imperiled. Canada, on

the contrary, is never likely to be called upon to export in a single year more than a few million dollars of the precious metal. If it cannot conveniently spare that amount from its own circulation, it easily makes a draft upon its wealthy neighbor. The United States, therefore, must be prepared to take care of Canadian balances as well as of its own. Surely we do not want a poorer bank currency than Canada has. The Canadian banking system permits an increase of the gold supply; the plan of the Monetary Commission would prevent it.

That England cast aside the "banking principle" over fifty years ago argues very little against it, for the principle was seldom if ever intelligently applied in England. English experience prior to 1844 furnishes eloquent illustration of mistakes to be avoided. During the period of restriction (1797-1820) Bank of England notes were legal tender, and the bank put them out on the principle that an over-issue was impossible so long as they were issued only in response to a genuine demand for loans. The managers of the bank did not understand the distinction between a demand for money and a demand for loans or capital. They thought that the presence of borrowers armed with good security, was an indication of an increasing demand for money, and that therefore an issue of notes in response to such demand could not result in an inflation of the currency. This fallacy was responsible for the curious opinion which many English financiers held with regard to the depreciation of the bank note. For many years it was gravely contended that the premium on gold indicated not an over-supply of bank notes, but an appreciation of gold. The managers of the bank made a second mistake throughout this period. The bank rate of discount was fixed at 5 per cent, and was seldom changed. As a result, whenever this rate was a fraction below the normal market rate, the bank had more than its just share of patronage, and its loans and note issues tended to expand at an abnormal pace. Thus for

a period of over thirty years the Bank of England, because of the misconceptions of its governors, failed to regulate properly the paper currency of England, and so brought what is now known as the "banking principle" into disrepute. Even after the resumption of specie payments the bank continued to make loans at an unvarying rate of interest, and as its notes, though not always legal tender, were universally acceptable, their issue constantly tended to keep the exchanges unfavorable to Great Britain. At the same time independent country banks were issuing notes, and were vigorously expanding the circulation with paper which was redeemable in notes of the Bank of England. The Bank of England had to bear the burden of the currency just as the National Treasury bears it in this country to-day. Consequently the country banks were not much concerned about the rates of foreign exchange, and were not impelled to reduce their circulation merely because gold happened to be in demand for export to the Continent. Their customers were content to receive Bank of England notes. Hence upon that bank fell all the responsibility for the maintenance of the gold standard. The Bank Act of 1844, restricting the issues of bank notes, was adopted in order to free the currency from the confusion and uncertainty which had resulted from the unscientific banking of the time.

It is not my purpose to offer any scheme for an issue of bank notes upon a correct principle. Such a discussion might possess some interest theoretically, but I doubt if it would have much practical value. It may be worth while, however, to suggest briefly certain possible methods of attaining the ends at which the Monetary Commission has aimed. If it is desirable that the bank note shall closely resemble lawful money, acceptable in all parts of the country, and that its volume nevertheless shall be flexible, it must be issued by the government itself. As soon as a bank note is made legal tender it loses at once its character as a piece of bank credit and acquires a larger circulation,

the people justly holding the government responsible for its ultimate redemption. It becomes essentially government money. It may be wise for the government to issue credit-money, but the government, if at all, should make the issue directly. The agency for issue would be a bank of the United States similar in some respects to the institution which Andrew Jackson forced out of existence. Such a bank, managed by officers of the government, should be a bank of deposit and discount as well as of issue. It should redeem in gold all the demand obligations of the government and should regulate the volume of its notes in accordance with the needs of trade. Through its influence upon the loan market it could in some measure control the movements of gold. Experience would show how large a volume of credit-money it could safely issue. A bank of this character is practically what Ricardo recommended eighty years ago in his well-known "Proposal for an Economical and Secure Currency." It was his idea that no gold need be coined, the bank redeeming its notes in bullion. Such a bank could undoubtedly supply the people with a safe paper currency if it were soundly and conservatively managed. It is doubtful, however, if present political conditions in this country warrant any hope that such a bank would be wisely managed even if the necessary legislation establishing it could be obtained.

There are obvious objections to the existence in this country of three thousand or more bank note issues possessing different degrees of acceptability. It was, doubtless, these objections that led the Monetary Commission to provide an extraordinary guaranty for bank notes. But the objections that can be justly urged against an unguaranteed issue by 3600 banks differing widely in resources and credit, do not necessarily hold against an issue made by one hundred large and well-known institutions. If we are to adopt a system resembling the Canadian, yielding a perfectly flexible bank note, not guaranteed nor redeemed by the

government, not legal tender, yet generally acceptable, the issue of notes must be restricted to banks of large capital. Possibly a practicable scheme could be devised whereby banks of not less than \$2,000,000 capital could put forth a safe and flexible circulation. These banks should be obliged to maintain a large safety fund, and possibly in the beginning a tax upon the circulation would be salutary as a repressive measure, for bank notes must not be permitted to cause the expulsion of gold. It would be well, also, to authorize the establishment of branch banks in order that the notes might conveniently reach the country districts; yet this feature, although it would augment the usefulness of the note and benefit communities now unable to utilize their credit, would not be essential.

It may be objected that there are political reasons why the issue of notes should not be restricted to large banks. The cry of monopoly may be raised, and no political party will be willing to shoulder such an odious responsibility. In that case, if we are to have a really useful bank note, and not a pretended bank note, starched rigid by a governmental guaranty, we must return to something like the old system of state bank issues. Such an apparent retrogression would really be progress. The bank notes which circulated in New England, Indiana and Louisiana before the war were much more useful instruments of exchange than the present national bank note. If something on the lines of the famous Suffolk system could be established in each state under an act of Congress, that made strict provisions for redemption, theoretically there is no reason why a safe bank currency of great local usefulness should not be obtained. Still better results could probably be secured by the division of the country into ten or more banking districts, and the limitation of the issue privilege to banks of at least \$100,000 capital, each district maintaining a separate safety fund. In a state or district system conservative bankers would be able to exert a most wholesome influence upon their

competitors. Self-interest would cause them to keep well informed as to the condition and methods of every bank of issue within their state or district, and to bring heavy pressure to bear upon any which excited suspicion.

The government should be very slow and cautious about interfering with the established conditions which underlie the credit operations and machinery of this country. Credit is not a product of law, or of systems artificially put into operation. It is the outgrowth of conditions which legislatures may destroy but cannot create. It would be unwise therefore to attempt to force upon the country a credit system which the business men do not thoroughly understand. Their confidence is essential to its success, and it cannot have their confidence unless they understand it. The Canadian system, or the old Scotch system of banking, which compel the admiration of the student of finance, cannot be bodily imported into the United States. They are the products of years of experience. Their evolution has proceeded under the eyes of the people, and in response to the needs of the people. That is the reason why they enjoy the confidence of the people and maintain unshaken credit even in great emergencies. A gradual change of our present banking system is, therefore, rather to be recommended than a sudden transition to one theoretically ideal.

PLAN OF SECRETARY GAGE.

That it aims to accomplish certain desirable ends without any radical departure from the present order of things is a *prima facie* recommendation of the plan proposed by Secretary Gage. The creation of an issue and redemption division of the treasury, which the Monetary Commission recommends, was his suggestion originally, and is part of his plan. He proposes to refund the national debt at 2½ per cent, and to protect the gold reserve by locking up in the treasury a portion of the government's credit-money. To prevent a contraction of the currency, he would authorize

national banks to issue notes up to the par value of the bonds deposited, and also permit them to issue, in addition to the secured circulation, an unsecured or emergency circulation equal to 25 per cent of the bonds deposited, such emergency circulation being taxed at the rate of 2 per cent per annum. The essential features of his plan are presented in the following outline:

1. **ISSUE AND REDEMPTION.**—Create separate division of treasury for issue and redemption of all kinds of government paper money. Transfer to it \$125,000,000 gold, and silver dollars and bullion equal to outstanding silver certificates and treasury notes. Do not reissue redeemed United States notes, treasury notes, or silver certificates except in exchange for the coin in which they are redeemed.

2. **REFUNDING PLAN.**—Authorize the issue of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent gold bonds, redeemable after ten years at option of the United States, to be exchanged on an equitable basis for the government 5's of 1904 and the 4's of 1907; also authorize an issue of \$200,000,000 of said $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent bonds in addition to the amount needed for making said exchanges.

3. **BANKING.**—Limit the issue of bank notes to capital. Lowest denomination \$10. Two kinds of circulation: the first secured by United States bonds of a par and market value equal to the face of the notes; the second unsecured and restricted in amount to 25 per cent of the bonds deposited against the secured circulation. A bank must deposit bonds equal to 50 per cent of its capital before notes may be issued.

(a) *Deposit of Government Money.*—A bank, in lieu of bonds, may deposit as security for its notes, United States notes, treasury notes or silver certificates. But not more than \$200,000,000 of such government money can be so deposited, and the secretary may, at his discretion, substitute for it $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent bonds, the money then becoming part of the general redemption fund.

(b) *Redemption.*—Each bank to maintain in the treasury a redemption fund equal to 10 per cent of its circulation. The notes to be redeemed at the treasury and at designated sub-treasuries. "The faith of the United States is hereby pledged" to the prompt redemption of the notes.

(c) *Safety Fund.*—Each bank to pay a tax of 2 per cent per annum on its unsecured circulation; the proceeds to be a safety fund to reimburse the United States for redemption of unsecured circulation. It may be invested in government bonds.

(d) *Miscellaneous*.—(1) A tax of 1 per cent on circulation, except that issued against the deposit of government money. (2) Banks of \$25,000 capital to be permitted in places of 2000 population or less. (3) Present law as to legal tender character of bank notes not changed.

Secretary Gage's plan would increase the profits and enhance the volume of bank circulation. Theoretically it renders possible a bank note inflation of the currency, the amount of the national debt alone placing a limit upon the issue of notes. It is fair to assume, however, as Secretary Gage does, that banks will be unable to buy more than one-half of the outstanding United States bonds at prices which would make the issue of notes profitable. His plan would undoubtedly give a great boom to government securities, yet many of them are held by investors and institutions because of their security, and would not be thrown upon the market even though the price should advance. Nevertheless it must be admitted that the possibility of inflation would exist, and that should be guarded against. If the issue of secured notes under this plan were definitely limited to about \$500,000,000, objections on the score of possible inflation would be obviated, for the plan contemplates the reduction of the present circulation by about that amount. Of government money at least \$200,000,000 is to be tied up in the treasury; and the Redemption Fund of 10 per cent would tie up \$50,000,000, which is \$40,000,000 more than is in the fund at present. Adding to these sums the present amount of national bank note circulation, we have nearly \$500,000,000.

Would his plan lessen the strain upon the National Treasury? Secretary Gage holds that it would, but his reasoning is far from conclusive. He maintains that it would reduce the amount of the government's demand obligations liable to be presented for redemption at the treasury from about \$860,000,000 to \$360,000,000. He reasons in this way: \$200,000,000 tied up in the treasury, \$40,000,000 added to the Bank Redemption Fund, and \$250,000,000 tied up in the

banks and in the pockets of the people in bills of small denominations, the government having a monopoly of the issue of small notes. He is inclined to believe that exporters of gold will have difficulty in getting hold of much of the remaining \$360,000,000 of government obligations, and so will be unable to bring great pressure to bear upon the treasury. In other words, there will be a scarcity of legal tender credit-money, and banks will find it as convenient to redeem their notes in gold as in government paper. The flaw in this reasoning is the assumption that the demand for gold for export is somehow related to the quantity of government credit-money in circulation ; whereas in this country it is mainly due to the inelasticity of the currency. So long as the government undertakes to maintain an absolute par between gold and all forms of credit-money it must stand ready to pay out gold whenever any of the paper for which it is sponsor is presented. Its guaranty of bank notes makes them virtually a government obligation. Unless they contract in volume when the money supply is redundant, gold will be forced from the country and exporters will get it in the easiest possible manner. Under Mr. Gage's plan, on account of the government's pledge of redemption, the bank notes of the future would probably be found as useful instruments for draining the treasury as greenbacks have been in the past.

Does the plan introduce into the currency any element of elasticity ? If it does, the liability of the treasury to demands upon its gold reserve will be reduced. The secretary's banking plan is certainly a step in the direction toward the " banking principle," with its consequent elasticity of note issue. Up to 20 per cent of their capital stock, banks are permitted to issue notes secured solely by their general assets. These notes, however, on account of their guaranty and limited legal tender quality, will enter into general circulation and be indistinguishable from those which are based upon bonds. They will not remain in the vicinity of the issuing banks any

more than would greenbacks or silver certificates. The 2 per cent tax would tend to cause their retirement, or the retirement of an equal amount of legal tender money, whenever local rates of discount became so low that the issuing banks made no profit out of their emergency circulation. It is to be feared, however, that the tax of 2 per cent would prove too small to be effective in many parts of the country. Certainly in the West and South banks would not be restrained from putting forth these emergency notes by so low a tax. Even the New York banks have for years been willing to pay that rate on bank balances, an indication that they are able to find profitable use for the money. It is likely, therefore, if Mr. Gage's plan were adopted in its present shape, that a large number of banks would put forth their emergency circulation in normal times and be unable to respond to the increased demands of their customers when times of real emergency arose. The tax should be so large that very few banks would be able to pay it except in times of extraordinary demand for money. The Bank of Germany pays a tax of 5 per cent on its emergency circulation. In my opinion, that is about the rate which banks should be compelled to pay in this country if they are permitted to issue guaranteed notes in excess of the security which they deposit. Such circulation would then expand in times of real distress, and thereafter almost instantly disappear.

Secretary Gage's plan, with the two amendments that I have suggested, might be adopted without any risk which I can foresee. It is far from ideal, but it is a step in the right direction. The new features which it grafts upon our present system would be readily understood by bankers and business men. That is a great point in its favor. Experience under the plan would gradually impress upon the public the importance of elasticity in the currency, a matter in which they have had no experience or instruction for nearly forty years. In time it would doubtless be possible

still further to amend the system and to mould the currency gradually into something like ideal shape. Although Secretary Gage's plan does not provide a place for new gold in the currency, yet it is not, like the Monetary Commission's plan, open to the objection that it might prevent the broadening of the gold base in the future. The amount of bank notes that may be issued under his plan has comparatively definite limits, and the permanent place that they would fill in the circulation is not liable to great expansion as the country grows. There would be no doubt about this whatever if the issue of secured circulation were limited to a fixed amount; then the development of the United States would certainly be accompanied by a rising proportion of gold in its money supply.

President McKinley's recommendations as to the currency are aimed especially at the difficulty and cost to the government of maintaining the gold standard. In his message he urged that greenbacks once redeemed should not be paid out again except in exchange for gold. This simple measure would tend to improve the situation to some extent. The gradual retirement of greenbacks as suggested by the President would tend to make them essentially gold certificates, and is quite possible without any contraction of the currency, for their place in the circulation would be immediately filled by gold fresh from the mines of this country, gold which would be otherwise sent to Europe. The President's recommendation is excellent, not because it proposes to retire the greenback, but because it proposes to reduce the volume of credit-money and increase that of gold. The greenback has suffered undeserved odium, for it is commonly assumed to have been the cause of the treasury's embarrassment in recent years; whereas the real cause lies in the rigidity of our monetary system, in the large proportion of credit-money, and in the inability of the treasury to influence the movements of gold. The greenback has been merely a convenient instrument for effecting changes in the money supply

which these conditions have rendered necessary. Of course, the retirement of the greenback, or of any form of credit-money, should be gradual and at the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury. The foreign exchange market furnishes a trustworthy barometer. The rise of exchange to the export point, particularly if accompanied by low rates on discounts and call loans, is an indication of excess in the currency, which will be corrected by the exportation of gold if not corrected in some other way. At such a time, if the revenues are yielding a surplus, the Secretary of the Treasury might retire easily and safely a certain amount of demand obligations by a judicious reduction of government deposits in national banks. Instead of losing gold the country would lose credit-money; there is no doubt as to which can best be spared.

In view of the antagonistic attitude of the friends of silver toward currency reform, it is worth while to note the fact that two entirely different "money questions" are before the people of the United States. One concerns the standard of value, the other the defective character of the present monetary system. Logically there is no reason why these two questions should be confused. The vital issue between monometallism and bimetallism is one of prices; the bimetallist holds that prices will fluctuate less under a double than under a single standard, or, at least, that if they do change they will tend to rise rather than to fall. This issue is one that cannot be settled merely by improvements of the present monetary system; nor, on the other hand, can the defects of the system be remedied merely by a change of standards. There are two distinct "questions" here, and each should be settled on its merits. For twenty years the Congress of the United States has been tampering with the monetary system under the mistaken idea that by enlarging the use of silver it could effect a satisfactory compromise between monometallists and bimetallists. The result has been satisfactory to nobody,

excepting perhaps the gold-using nations of Europe, whose currencies we have enriched with gold at the expense of our own. It is time for bimetallists to recognize the fact that the policy of the United States since 1878 has not only given it an unsafe and top-heavy monetary system, but has also helped make easy and inviting the path of the gold monometallists in other parts of the world. Instead of strengthening the prospects of bimetallism, our stumbling, empirical imitation of it has convinced many plain, practical men of affairs that it is something irrational and visionary, approved only by English university professors and debt-dodging Americans. On all accounts, therefore, it is well to stop confusing the two "money questions." The defects of our monetary system are independent of any defect in the standard; they would exist even if gold as a measure of values were universally admitted to be ideal. On the other hand, improvements of the system cannot affect the general tendency of prices, and therefore cannot cut away the ground upon which the bimetallist stands. The country is trying to do business upon the gold basis; all outstanding credits, both of the government and of the individual, have been accepted as promises to pay gold; there should be no doubt about the meaning or the fulfillment of those promises. To remove all occasion for doubt is the real purpose of "currency reform," and there is no reason why a fair-minded bimetallist should not work for it as ardently as a gold monometallist. He would be a dangerous ship's captain who refused to take in sail merely because he preferred steam to sail vessels and hoped that some accident might win his employer over to his view.

JOSEPH FRENCH JOHNSON.

University of Pennsylvania.

BRIEFER COMMUNICATIONS

THE COMMITTEE OF FIFTY AND THE INVESTIGATION OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM.

Some months ago the undersigned was asked to write for the ANNALS a short review of, or an unsigned note on, "The Liquor Problem in its Legislative Aspects," by Frederic H. Wines and John Koren. The member of the editorial committee who made this suggestion was aware that I had expressed the opinion that the gentlemen who prepared this report had not been able to escape as completely as they themselves apparently believed, from the common human frailty of personal bias; and that on this account some deduction should be made from their comparatively favorable presentation of certain legislative schemes and the very damaging presentation of others. The editor did not desire, however, as I afterwards learned, that the review, if unsigned, should contain an expression of opinion, and when the proof was sent for my revision my name was appended. Not understanding the reason for this, and recalling the fact that I had been given the option of writing an unsigned note, I struck out the signature, and stated my personal reasons for not wishing to write a signed review of the book in question. There the matter would naturally have ended by the omission of the note and the preparation of a new review by some one else, except for the accident that the editor in charge of the department was away on his summer's vacation when the proof was returned, and the note was in his absence inserted as amended by the writer. Thus the note was published, contrary to the policy of the ANNALS, containing an expression of the reviewer's opinion, but with no signature.

Without any personal obligation to relate these facts, and in full knowledge that editorial confidences are properly guarded in the office of the ANNALS, I wish, nevertheless, to offer this explanation, and with the permission of the editors to assume the full responsibility for the review. Having done this, I wish to add a few words which seem necessary because of the evidence which has been brought to my notice that the previous note is liable to misinterpretation.

The reviewer did not intend to impugn the good faith either of the committee or of the authors of the report. There appeared to be a certain inconsistency between the generalization of the committee that "it cannot be positively affirmed that any one kind of liquor legislation has been more successful than another in promoting real temperance," and the actual reports presented, which, taken at their face value, do indeed tend to convict all legislative systems of failure, but in very different degrees.

The hope that was expressed in regard to the forthcoming volume on the relations of intemperance to pauperism, now appears to me to have been somewhat out of place in an unsigned note where it could easily be misunderstood. It was, in fact, a perfectly sincere expression of my attitude toward an investigation in which I have the greatest possible interest and which I have personally assisted in some slight degree. From its extent, from the high standing of its sponsors, from the wide co-operation secured, and from the fact that it is in more competent hands than any previous investigation of this kind, if it may not be said to be the first of its kind, the inquiry will certainly produce a volume which will rank high as an authority and which should be of practical value in the treatment of pauperism.

It is possible that a list of the sentences and expressions which appear to me to justify the strictures contained in the note would fail to convince the authors, or even an impartial jury, that the investigators were biased, leading them unconsciously to accept evidence more readily if it tended to confirm previously formed conclusions. It is obvious that it is not the province of the Academy to act as arbiter of any such dispute. Now that those who were inclined to take exception to the note understand that the opinion proceeds from a humble member of the Academy, anxious only, like themselves, to advance our knowledge of the important problem on which they are at work, they will probably hardly think it worth while to enter upon any controversy on these points.

The purpose of this communication is to disavow any imputation of intentional bad faith, to express regret for any expressions which could be construed into personal reflections upon either authors or committee, and to add a tribute of appreciation to the well-deserved praise which their work has received. I do not know that this can be done more effectively than by repeating the words of the former note, that the volume "will probably stand as the beginning of our scientific work in this field."

EDWARD T. DEVINE.

New York City.

A MISGUIDED PHILOSOPHER IN THE FIELD OF ECONOMICS.

Habits of criticism tend to encourage superficial and barren analyses. As the power of the race to objectify its ideas increases, subjects are grasped after that have an appearance of newness and originality without much reference to whether or not their investigation will lead to useful conclusions. The high grade of excellence to which clear writing has attained, thanks to university influences, fosters this playing with ideas, with the result that much recent work has about it an appearance of insincerity. A custom is becoming common among economic writers of asking questions without answering them. Theorists seem to take a *dilettante* satisfaction in multiplying subjects for investigation, without investigating them.

This readiness to begin work, which either cannot be completed or is never intended to be completed, is so characteristic of recent writing, that it seems worth while to select a typical case and to examine it as a sample. Dr. Gottl's "*Der Wertgedanke*"* will furnish the model. The title of this book sufficiently indicates the author's intention to open the way for higher self-consciousness, and hence for more accurate results in connection with the theory of value. In the introduction he presents himself in the character of a student reduced to despair by the confusion in the existing state of that theory, who has been compelled to cast aside the whole body of statements made upon the subject and to clear the ground for real scientific investigation.

His fundamental idea is that it is necessary in the first place to establish the validity of the assumption of unity implied in the expression "value." Curiously enough, his own argument contains a still more questionable assumption, namely, that of the necessity above mentioned. A large part of it is confined to an elaborate demonstration that theorists really do assume the *unity* of value. The possible utility of establishing this conclusion is but briefly indicated. It is to be noted that he does not propose to investigate primarily the truth or falsity of the assumption, but simply the existence of the assumption. This is to lay the ground for the investigation of its truth or falsity. The importance of the former investigation, however, obviously depends upon the importance of the latter. The truth is that the investigation of the question of unity is important simply as an exercise in self-consciousness. It cannot change in any particular our theory of value, since it cannot change the laws of thought by and through which the theory of

* *Der Wertgedanke, ein verhülltes Dogma der Nationalökonomie, Kritische Studien zur Selbstbesinnung des Forschens im Bereiche der sogenannten Wertlehre*, Von Dr. FRIEDRICH GOTTL. Pp. 76. Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1897.

value is being continually reconstructed. Its only possible effect, therefore, is to stimulate self-consciousness to action along lines already fixed by the laws of reason.

Our criticism of Dr. Gottl's work comes to this, that in the premises which he assumes, an incorrect conception of the functioning of unity in analytical thought is made, which naturally affects unfavorably all of his conclusions. Let us summon patience to notice, as briefly as possible, how he goes to work.

The machinery of formal logic is arrayed to prove what anyone would be quite willing to admit, the fact of the usual assumption of the unity of value. Why this supererogatory effort? Evidently because Dr. Gottl believes that possibly the method of thought which assumes unity may be proved wrong, and thus the science of value revolutionized. That it should occur to anyone that men can think at all without an assumption of a single subject-matter, is really a mental curiosity; and that a grave dissertation on such a question should wander into current scientific literature, seems to indicate that all that is necessary in order to admission into the portals of science is the ability to draw a distinction between "subjective" and "objective."

In order to prove the self-evident proposition that all economists assume the unity of value, four formal premises are laid down, with which we shall not trouble the reader; and these are afterward (with much show of demonstrating that what is assumed must be taken to be natural and hence not a subject of demonstration) concentrated into a single proposition: "Value is presented to Science as a Singular-Object."

The proof of the common assumption of this proposition contains in itself all the assumptions that the law allows. The author's own continual assumption is that everybody, except himself, believes that the determinant of a field of thought is necessarily single. Now a determinant is a variable, and there is no inherent probability that the field of value is determined by any one variable called "Value;" the probabilities are rather that it is determined now by one variable and now by another, or rather that it is the resultant of many. It may be that this truth is not always present in the mind of the investigator of value, but it is reasonable to believe that *plurality* of determinants is no less an *unbesehen Hingegenomenes* than the singular formula which he has hit upon.

Undoubtedly such an assumption as he attributes to all is very common, and Dr. Gottl does well to draw our attention to it. There is no doubt but that a complete self-examination upon this subject is desirable, and the real question is as to the claim

that such a self-examination would change the theory of value. It is this claim that throws a doubt upon his whole work, for it seems to have been undertaken with the idea that such an investigation would make a *tabula rasa* of all previous investigation in the domain of value.

He proceeds to an inductive proof. The task is naturally not difficult. A number of citations are made to show that economists either directly or impliedly consider value to be a Singular-Object recognized as such by all. Of course it was very easy to make a most extensive list of such expressions, since without them it would be impossible to proceed by analytic reasoning either in economics or in any other science. Here is one of the extracts which he gives as proof of the slavish subservience of economists to the unconscious singular idea: "In the domain of the scientific investigation of value, a clearing-up of views has taken place in recent times, which must be looked upon as the precursor of the unveiling of the hitherto unsolved riddle of value." (Komorzynski.) To condemn economists of unconsciousness and of lack of method upon such evidence is to deny the possibility of scientific analysis.

The connection between different so-called theories of value, he continues, is verbal or formal; *essentially* they are all mutually inimical. This last fact is the chief inductive evidence of the unconscious Singular-Object idea. There is really a war of each against all for survival. Theorists wrongly assume that all expressions that contain the word "value" have the most intimate relation with each other.

It is near the close of his paper that Dr. Gottl commits himself most thoroughly upon the importance of determining whether "value" is really singular or plural. As soon as this inquiry is thoroughly appreciated, he says, it will give rise to several questions which will demand imperative answer. One is, Whether such a Singular-Object is really offered to scientific investigation? another, What is value? and still another, Is value? The first question must be answered first, and it is possible that the answer may be either positive or negative or indeterminate. In each case it will be extremely useful to obtain some answer. If value is a Singular-Object, then we know that we have been following the right path; if it is not, then we have not disproved the existence of value, we have only shown that it is not a Singular-Object; and if it is impossible to answer the first question, we are still at liberty to *postulate* its truth. The answer to this question is separate from the answers to the other questions, and may be treated as an independent subject of investigation.

After all this mediæval logic, the main question, whether there is *really* such a Singular-Object as value comes in for scanty notice. He argues that there must be some such idea in order to connect the array of discrepant theories. The discrepancy of the theories, however, is evidence of the non-objectiveness of the Singular-Value-Idea. Here again an inductive study is indicated. A number of definitions of value are collected, from which the inference is drawn that in the "world of statements" about value, the subject-matter treated varies greatly. It would perhaps have been more generous to have shown that these statements are complementary; but this inference would not suit his purposes. He thinks science demands an absolute and clean-cut solution of the unity of the Value-Idea, before the study of value itself can proceed. If the Value-Idea be untrue, then all previous investigation into value is deprived of meaning. The inferences above drawn from the "statement-world" do not, however, completely disprove the existence of the Value-Idea, for it may possibly be established independently.

The conclusion is that the Value-Idea cannot be inductively established from the "statement-world," but must be independently studied in some other way.

Because a man is a strict logician, and has the gift of clear statement, it does not follow that he is right. It becomes only the easier to distinguish truth from error in his work. The main truths in Dr. Gottl's work are, first, that in general people do assume that value is single, and, secondly, that there is a decided need in economics of a more complete self-examination.

The part played by self-consciousness in science is great. Self-consciousness is another name for stage of education; it is a measure of civilization; it seems to be closely connected with the subject of method. A study of method is a study of the mode of attaining to self-consciousness or of self-consciousness in operation. Dr. Gottl, however, has hardly chosen the correct method of developing self-consciousness.

It seems plausible enough to assume that every unproved assumption must be ferreted out and subjected to the test of reason; but is it proper, logical, or in harmony with the laws of thought-development, to single out as the subject for *separate* proof that one title which is admitted to be the very object and goal of the science? Yet this is what Dr. Gottl has done in a roundabout way. Not value, but the unity of the concept of value, is to be subjected to the test. A special investigation of this sort is indeed worth making as a study in method. It must prove advantageous, not only to economics, but to all sciences. It can hardly be regarded

as an economic investigation; it cannot occupy the place in economics that the psychology of value occupies, for instance; for there are peculiarities in psychology that are characteristically economic. This investigation into the assumption of unity in the subject-matter of economics can have no meaning, except in so far as the same inquiry is interesting with regard to all sciences. Regarded as an investigation *in economics* it can have no meaning, since if value is not one thing, but many, then we must admit that that is removed, which makes economics a science. Hence this is simply a sidewise attempt to abolish value, and economics with it. Every science, however, must have some central conception which is treated as indivisible.

In order properly to appreciate Dr. Gottl's discovery of the "Value-Idea," it is obviously necessary that we ourselves form some theory of the method of science. What difference does it make to us whether there be a Value-Idea, and again whether we are conscious of that idea? Thought is a natural process, and logical thought is the most natural of all. The trained thinker differs from the untrained thinker simply in the rigorousness with which he uses the methods of the latter. His mental operations are more conscious, and hence more thorough, but nevertheless the same. The logic of the lecture-room is precisely the logic of the street-corner. The difference is one of degree of comprehensiveness and of thoroughness. In the lecture-room, time is taken to avoid the inconsistencies that burden every sentence upon the street-corner; but the process is the same. A knowledge of this process therefore acts purely as a stimulant to greater comprehensiveness and accuracy. Dr. Gottl is therefore wrong in supposing that such knowledge can overturn ancient systems, although it may *hasten* the overturn of systems already foredoomed.

There runs, however, through the whole of his paper, an anticipation of the conclusions of investigation into scientific method, which seems to be incorrect. He sets to himself formally the task of awakening self-consciousness, and adopts as his method of attaining his end simply a proof that theorists use the Singular-Value-Idea unconsciously. The error that runs through his work is the expressed assumption that the Singular-Value-Idea must be objectively either true or untrue.* He goes so far, therefore, to prejudice an inquiry in which he is ostensibly trying only to

*"Es bedarf klipp und klar des Beweises für oder gegen die Wahrheit des Wertgedankens, oder auch des einwandfreien Nachweises, dass ein solcher Beweis ausser Möglichkeit liegt. Der letztere Nachweis schliesst sich hier ganz unmittelbar aus." p. 59; see also p. 49.

open the way, and it seems that he prejudices it in the wrong direction.

What, then, is the right direction? As thinkers in an age dominated by the doctrine of evolution, we are best enabled to criticise his idea of scientific method by inquiring whether it corresponds to that evolutionary idea to which all of us owe so much. Must the Singular-Value-Idea be either true or false in the nature of things? Strict logic deals only with an opposition of positive and negative, of past and of future; it is incompetent as such to furnish clear conceptions concerning the present, which is the point of union of past and future, which is therefore neither positive nor negative, but which is a *Becoming*. Our method of thought about the present and hence about value, therefore, is something more than logical; it cannot turn about a fixed and invariable field, nor employ a fixed and invariable criterion of that field, although it is probably true, as Dr. Gottl maintains, that most people, including Dr. Gottl himself, think that it does. The only thing that troubles him is, which is the field? Is it one in which there is an absolute and permanent unity, called "Value," or one in which there is no such unity?

If, however, our mental process is a *Becoming*, then the field of investigation is a *Becoming* also; it is subject to constant expansion due to broader and broader generalizations, and in turn to contraction due to subdivision. A field of investigation, being in constant flux and change, can only be regarded as single for the purpose of *logical* conclusions. Logic contains, therefore, always this weakness, that the premises must be taken as static, although the objects reasoned about are in a state of flux and change. The doctrine of evolution steps in to help us to a higher self-consciousness in this matter. It teaches us to make allowance for our static premises. It leads us to the inevitable conclusion that a field of thought cannot be continuously singular, no matter what the requirements of formal premises may be.

The progress of a science must be looked upon, from the evolutionary point of view, as a contest of theories for survival, and also as a contest of fields for survival. The process is not one of adapting a theory to a field any more than it is one of adapting a field to a theory. While a field must be *treated* as an objective fact, that objectivity is largely derived from the thinker himself. Thus the field of geology, as distinguished from that of mineralogy, must depend largely upon the state of mind of theorists interested in those branches. Evolutionary progress takes place through a continual disturbance and readjustment of the equilibria of mutually interdependent utilities. The utility of extent and content of a

science, therefore, is just as much dependent upon the theories of the science, as the utility of the latter is dependent upon the former.

The complaint, therefore, that the unity of value is a pure assumption is entirely unfounded, *as a complaint*. The unity *exists* as a working hypothesis; it does not *persist* in time as an objective fact. The subjective existence and the objective non-persistence are concomitants necessary to scientific processes, and hence far from suitable matters for reproach.

Moreover, in this question of process there is nothing peculiar in economics, as Dr. Gottl supposes. It is common practice in all sciences to presuppose, *argumenti gratia*, a subject-matter, and then to form theories about it. The subject-matter and the theories mutually affect each other; and thus, through selection and survival, the science progresses. Moreover, it is fair to state that there must be for every science some central theory, some supreme generalization which gives unity to the science, looked upon as a process. No one could possibly claim that this unity possesses permanent objective reality; but Dr. Gottl is the first man who has suggested the feasibility of dispensing with this unity as a process. Geology must entertain some supreme theory as to the movements of the earth's crust. The field of the science and the theory of the day depend upon each other. Geologists must necessarily enter into contests as to which is the correct theory. There thus arise as many geologies as theories of geological action.

Similarly, economists put forward innumerable theories of value, each one of which, if adopted, must sensibly affect the area of economic science. For example, the psychologic studies of the Austrian school have reached results applicable within a wider area, or rather within a partially different area, than that corresponding to the theories of the orthodox school. There arises now an interesting question as to whether the science shall accept this extension of area or shall hand over the new results for the benefit of former or other proprietors.

To be in the highest degree conscious of these processes is of extreme value to the man of science. In this we heartily agree with Dr. Gottl. But a decided objection must be entered to the manner in which he approaches the subject. His "consciousness" cannot be a consciousness of reality, because, according to him, value must be either non-existent or singular or plural. The truth is that value is *Becoming*.

It is a convenience to the mind to assume roughly a field of value and a theory of value. The theory of one moment is not the theory of another. Different theorists contend with each other.

There is, in any group of theorists, some general tendency to which a field and a theory belong. In other words, there is a moving body of science which forms the social mind common to the theorists, by which all are influenced, and which each in turn seeks to influence.

The *Kampf aller gegen alle* is just as much a proof of unity as of disunity, and neither unity nor disunity is a disproof of self-consciousness. Organic thought repels the alternative question.

W. G. LANGWORTHY TAYLOR.

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BOOK DEPARTMENT.

NOTES.

IN RESPONSE TO inquiries which have been received in regard to the character of the matter published under the head of "Notes," the editor of the book department wishes to announce to readers of the ANNALS that it is his settled policy to publish only descriptive notices of books under this caption. In the few cases in which a publication is noticed briefly, and at the same time criticised in this department, the name of the contributor will be supplied in a foot-note,* and in this way it is hoped all possibility of misunderstanding will be avoided in the future.

MR. MARK ASH of the New York Bar, who, in 1891, published an excellent edition of the New York City Consolidation Act, has just issued an annotated edition of the Greater New York Charter.† This volume, of 1251 pages, contains all the material necessary for a history of the government of the Greater New York. By inserting the various enactments, commission reports and constitutional provisions, as well as a compilation of the early charters, Mr. Ash has given us a work indispensable to the student of municipal government, as well as to the lawyer. The chapters of the charter itself, and of the acts relating to Greater New York unrepealed by the charter, have been carefully annotated by the author, all the important decisions being cited. The student of municipal government gains the impression from reading the chapters that the new charter represents a type of law-making which has become general throughout the United States. Instead of carefully codifying every chapter of the new charter, the Greater New York commission took up only the more important questions and adopted the policy of re-enacting a great mass of laws relating to the different municipal departments. The great care which the author has exercised in his analysis of provisions at present in force

* In the past critical notices have sometimes appeared unaccompanied by the name of their author. For example, the notice of Mulhall's "Industries and Wealth of Nations" (Vol. ix, p. 429) was unaccompanied by any signature. It was written by Professor Falkner. The notice of Wines' and Koren's "The Liquor Problem in its Legislative Aspects" (Vol. x, pp. 118-19) is another exception. It was written by Dr. Devine, who frankly assumes full responsibility for the opinions therein expressed in his communication in the current number.

† *The Greater New York Charter as Enacted in 1897*, with Notes by MARK ASH, of the New York Bar. Albany: Weed-Parsons Printing Company, 1897.

serves to bring out more clearly the uncertainty of the law upon many points. This edition of the charter will do much to clear up many of the intricate and disputed questions of existing law. It facilitates the determination of the question whether particular enactments are still in force or have been repealed by implication. For this reason, if for no other, Mr. Ash has done a real service to the students of municipal government, especially to those who are interested in the question of city charters.

UNDER THE TITLE of "The Struggle between President Johnson and Congress over Reconstruction,"* Mr. Chadsey has published an interesting account of this important chapter in the history of the unwritten constitution of the United States. As a matter of course, he begins his study with a consideration of the different theories propounded in connection with the readmission of the rebellious Southern states to their old position in the Union. The Democratic theory was naturally based upon the doctrine of state sovereignty. "The Union as it was must be restored and maintained, one and indivisible." The rebellious states still possessed the same rights as the loyal states, except as regards the holding of slaves. The personal theory of President Lincoln, as first stated, held that the states should resume their old relations, with their local affairs untouched by federal authority. The Congressional theory developed with the attitude of the executive, from a fear of his encroachments upon legislative powers. In its final form it took the ground that the seceding states had forfeited their rights under the Constitution, and that Congress had unrestricted power over them, as simple territories of the federal government. The accession of President Johnson brought the executive to a position of growing moderation towards the South. His provisional governments were steps toward the restoration of the states to the privileges guaranteed them by the Constitution before seceding.

In the remaining chapters the author describes the struggle between the President and Congress, which finally resulted in the extraordinary procedure of a trial of impeachment. The struggle thus came ultimately to mean one between the executive and legislative branches of the government as to the rôle each should play in the act of restoring the states to a new Constitutional status. The assertive attitude of the executive, resulting from the extraordinary war powers of the previous years, received a deserved check through

* *The Struggle between President Johnson and Congress over Reconstruction.* By CHARLES ERNEST CHADSEY, Ph. D. Columbia University Studies, Vol. viii, No. 1. Price \$1.00. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1897.

the aggressive position of Congress which restored finally the Constitutional equality between the legislative and executive branches of the federal government. Mr. Chadsey's monograph presents in a clear manner the essentials of this unique constitutional struggle.

THE TRANSLATION INTO English of Cournot's "*Recherches sur les Principes mathématiques de la théorie des richesses*,"* brings that work within the reach of many readers whose ignorance of French, or inability to gain access to the rare French edition of 1838, have heretofore prevented them from studying the original. It is a brief work, which applies the mathematical method to the discussion of rates of foreign exchange, of prices under conditions varying from complete monopoly to free competition, and of social income. Of the twelve chapters, the last two on "Social Income" are universally acknowledged to be of little value. The other ten are less difficult reading for the economist, more interested in his own science than in mathematics, than was to be expected from Jevons' statement that *his* mathematical power was insufficient to enable him to follow Cournot in all parts of his analysis. Perhaps his difficulty was due to the thirty-five inaccuracies which the painstaking translator has discovered in the original work.

As the first important treatise in mathematical economics Cournot's book has great historical interest. Whether the line of investigation which he started will really prove fruitful of valuable results in assisting students to understand more clearly the complex social phenomena which it is their task to explain, can only be decided by those who take the trouble to master the mathematical apparatus necessary to the understanding of this department of economic literature. Professor Fisher's little "Introduction to the Calculus," noticed in our last number, is an aid in this direction. An article by the same author in the January number of the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, reviewing Cournot's work, makes the comprehension of this important book more easy for the unmathematical student.

MR. HERBERT J. DAVENPORT, whose "Outlines of Economic Theory" was reviewed in the ANNALS for March† of last year, has just brought out an "Outlines of Elementary Economics,"‡

* *Researches into the Mathematical Principles of the Theory of Wealth*. By AUGUSTIN COURNOT. Translated by Nathaniel T. Bacon, with a bibliography of mathematical economics by Irving Fisher. Pp. ix, 209. Price, 75 cents. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1897.

† Vol. ix, p. 259.

‡ Pp. xiv, 280. Price, 80 cents. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1897.

which is something more than a mere abridgment of his earlier work. The distinction between economics as a science and economics as an art is no longer emphasized and in place of the division into sections, which was somewhat confusing, we now have the conventional arrangement in chapters. Moreover, the matter presented has been carefully rewritten, and although the range of problems treated is substantially the same, the treatment is now, in a real sense, elementary. The plan of introducing each new topic with a number of suggestive questions is given even wider application than in the earlier volume, while the questions themselves are more clearly expressed.

The greatest merit of this, as of the earlier work, is that it expresses very clearly the mature judgment of one who has given much thought to economic problems and is thoroughly conversant with the literature of his subject. Conceiving of political economy as the science of business, the author is careful to point out, at every step, the close connection between economic theory and the practical problems that engage the attention of the business community. At the same time he emphasizes the *social* point of view in the treatment of all these problems and brings out the idea, which cannot be too early implanted in the minds of students, that industrial development, like all other development in which organic forces are involved, is of necessity gradual. This is made especially clear in his treatment of "socialism," "the single tax," and other proposals looking to radical changes. His discussion of the money and tariff questions is as full as the interest of American students in these matters calls for and conspicuously fair, without being colorless. On the whole, this work should give an impetus to the introduction of economics into the curricula of secondary schools. It meets, to a large extent, the objection of those who base their opposition to this change on the alleged lack of any suitable textbook on the subject.

IN A SMALL volume entitled "*L'évolution des croyances et des doctrines politiques*,"* Professor Guillaume De Greef has reprinted two of his opening addresses, given in 1889 and 1890 at the *École des sciences sociales* at Brussels, and in addition a concrete study based on some of the principles put forth in the second address. This additional material comprises over 200 pages and furnishes the title for the volume. The addresses, which were published at the time they were delivered, have attracted considerable attention and have been

* *L'évolution des croyances et des doctrines politiques*. Par GUILLAUME DE GREEF. Pp. 330. Brussels: Mayolez & Audiarte; Paris: Félix Alcan, 1895.

long since out of print. Many persons will therefore be glad to know that they are to be had now in this volume. In the final and longer essay Professor De Greef ranges over a large mass of material relating to pre-historic times and to the early history of the Egyptians and Ethiopians and to Ancient Mexico and Peru in his endeavor to find analogies and striking illustrations of a common development in beliefs, traditions and political doctrines.

MR. HENRY S. HAINES, who for many years was President of the American Railway Association, and who has held responsible administrative positions in the railroad service, has published a book, entitled "American Railway Management," which contains his addresses delivered before the American Railway Association, and several other miscellaneous addresses and papers.* Though the book is in no sense a systematic treatise, it contains much information of value to the student of transportation. Besides discussing such technical questions as train rules, block systems, car-couplers and other safety appliances, the author considers such subjects as labor organizations, operating expenses, cost of transportation, railroad organization, freight classification, pooling, railway accidents, the training of railroad men and like topics. These questions and the others taken up in the book are not handled in a fundamental or scientific manner, and the book will commend itself to the student mainly because it reflects the views of one of the best informed practical railway officials in the United States. An outline of the history of the American Railway Association may be obtained from the twelve semi-annual addresses of its former president.

DR. GEORGE HARRIS, of the Andover Theological Seminary, has published a little volume of essays under the title, "Inequality and Progress," † in which he discusses various phases of social inequality which he considers conditions to progress. A large part of the volume is critical and calls in question the assumption that some kind of equality is the *summum bonum* to be sought by social reformers. The author attempts, through an analysis of certain fundamental facts of human nature and human development, to determine what may and what may not be taken for granted in the discussion of various theories concerning social growth. He insists upon the cultivation not only of the historic sense, but also of the

* *American Railway Management*. By HENRY S. HAINES. Pp. 368. Price, \$2.50. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1897.

† Pp. 164. Price, \$1.25. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1897.

ethnologic and anthropologic senses on the part of the leaders and reformers of society. Believing that inequalities are inevitable the author expresses the hope that they may be more fully utilized and to some extent harmonized as social development proceeds and becomes more complex. A few of the titles of Dr. Harris' chapters indicate clearly the scope of his attractive little book: "Existing and Accepted Equality;" "Types of Social Selection;" "Economic Equality a Chimera;" "Equality of Opportunity in Education and Pursuits;" "Progress Produces Variety;" "Variety Produces Progress;" "The Progress of Ideals;" "The Uniqueness and Unity."

IN A MONOGRAPH of 121 pages Dr. Wilhelm Kähler, of the University of Halle, opens a series of studies on "Public Debts,"* of which he is to be the editor. In this monograph he examines the development of local indebtedness in Prussia. We are incidentally given an insight into the development of local activities, especially in the rural districts, for Dr. Kähler's researches cover the provinces, circles (*Kreise*) and villages. The author points out that during the early decades of the century the indebtedness of local divisions was confined exclusively to the larger towns. With the reorganization of the local rural divisions between 1870 and 1876 there came an increase in functions. This led to an increase in indebtedness. During the period between 1832 and 1895 the public debt of all local divisions in Prussia increased some \$5,000,000, distributed as follows: Provinces, one-sixth of total; Circles, one-tenth; Villages, one-fifteenth; Cities, two-thirds.

In discussing the present condition of local indebtedness, Dr. Kähler points out the desirability of effecting a centralization of local credit through the establishment of a government or quasi-government bank, the function of which shall be to act as intermediary between the cities and the general public. Furthermore, available government funds not applied to other purposes, are to be placed at the disposal of municipalities. In this way it is hoped to facilitate the negotiation of small loans by the authorities of local divisions. At the present time they are dependent for such facilities upon private banking institutions. Of course the new institution would be of particular value to the small towns, as the large cities have at the present time every facility for borrowing money at the lowest possible rate.

* *Die Preussischen Kommunalanleihen mit besonderer Rücksicht auf eine Centralisation des Kommunalkredits.* VON DR. WILHELM KÄHLER. Beiträge zur Lehre von den öffentlichen Schulden. I Band, I Heft. Pp. 121. Price, 4 marks. Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1897.

ABOUT FOUR YEARS ago we noted in these columns the second edition of Bernheim's "*Lehrbuch der historischen Methode*."* In spite of many pretentious rivals, this has retained its position as the best book on the subject. MM. Langlois and Seignobos have prepared a manual† which is more popular and better adapted for beginners. It discusses very concisely the preparation necessary for historical study (Book I), methods of criticism (Book II), and historical composition (Book III). In two appendices the authors give an interesting account of the instruction in history in France the secondary schools and universities, respectively.

This manual will not supersede Bernheim's work, which it does not attempt to rival. It does not contain the same wealth of bibliographical references, and does not go as deeply into the discussion of many subjects. Yet in one portion it is clearly superior to the latter, *i. e.*, in the criticism of an author's sincerity and exactitude. In general, it will commend itself for its good sense, clearness and moderation. Although intended primarily for the uninitiated, even specialists may profit by a careful perusal of some of the chapters. All students who are not dominated by the modern German methods will welcome the statement that external criticism is a means, and not an end, in itself. To judge from many of the recent works some scholars, philologists as well as historians, are too much in danger of forgetting this axiom.

MESSRS. G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS announce an interesting list of publications in history and economics for the coming spring. Professor Andrews is to bring out the second and concluding volume of his "Historical Development of Modern Europe." Professor Tyler has in preparation a volume on the "Literary History of the American Republic During the First Half Century of Their Independence." The same writer is to publish, in the near future, a series entitled "A Century of American Statesmen," in four or more volumes. This will contain biographical sketches of all our leading public men since March 4, 1801. Two new volumes are also announced for the Story of the Nations' Series, one detailing the "Story of Modern France," while the other describes the "Building of the British Empire, 1558-1895." Under the head of economics, Mr. John Davidson is to bring out a volume on "The Bargain Theory of Wages," while Mr. Alexander Dana Noyes has in preparation a short financial

* See ANNALS, Vol. v. p. 140. July, 1894.

† *Introduction aux Études historiques*. By CH. V. LANGLOIS et CH. SEIGNOBOS. Pp. xviii, 308. Price, 13.50 francs. Paris: Hachette et Cie., 1898.

history of the United States under the title, "Thirty Years of American Finance, 1865-1896."

THE FOUR REPORTS prepared by the present Commissioner of Navigation, Mr. Eugene Tyler Chamberlain, have all been valuable documents. The Bureau of Navigation, under the supervision of Mr. Chamberlain, has been of much assistance to the committee of Congress on commerce, and has aided in securing the repeal of several antiquated laws relating to shipping. Much work of this kind yet remains to be done, however, and the last report of the commissioner contains a good summary of the nature of the reforms needed and of the methods which, in the opinion of the commissioner, ought to be followed in making the changes that are essential to the best development of our merchant marine.* The prominent features of the report for 1897 are the discussion of the statistics of our shipping and ship-building industries, the advocacy of the extension of the Act of May 10, 1892, by which the foreign-built ships, the *Paris* and the *New York*, were admitted to American registry, and the argument in favor of the repeal of the sections of the law of June 19, 1886, providing for reciprocal tonnage tax exemptions. About half the report is taken up with a discussion of legislation affecting seamen, and attention is called to several needed improvements in our existing laws. The concentration of the several marine bureaus, under the supervision of one Assistant Secretary of State, a change strongly urged in former reports of the Commissioner of Navigation, has been effected by Secretary Gage's order of April 6, 1897. As usual, the appendices of the report contain much valuable information regarding the condition of our marine, and that of foreign countries, and, besides, the thirty-two statistical tables in which the data regarding American shipping are presented.

ONE OF THE most important investigations conducted by the Labour Department of the English Board of Trade is that into changes in wages and the hours of labor in the United Kingdom. The fourth annual report,† dealing with this question for the year 1896, which has just been issued, is full of suggestive information for the student of the labor problem. At the outset the report touches on some of the difficulties of the investigation. It has been possible to obtain only the facts in regard to the wages actually paid at different

* *Report of the Commissioner of Navigation to the Secretary of the Treasury* Pp. 350. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1897.

† Pp. lxxxix, 273. Price, 1s. 6d. London: Eyre & Spottiswood, 1897.

periods for different grades of work. No allowance is made for unemployment or for changes in the grade of work performed by the mass of laboring people, and in consequence no certain conclusion as to the actual condition of the working classes can be drawn from the figures presented. The investigation concerns all the leading industries of England from manufacturing and mining to agriculture and commerce. As many as 8,500,000 persons are employed in the industries actually examined. In comparison with the returns for the years 1894 and 1895 those for last year are decidedly favorable. In 1894 488,357 persons had their wages decreased while only 175,615 had them increased. In 1895 351,895 had them decreased while only 79,867 had them increased. Last year, on the contrary, only 167,357 persons had their wages decreased while 382,225 had them increased. Thus there was a weekly gain in wages last year of £26,592 to contrast with a weekly loss in 1895 of £28,211 and in 1894 of £45,091. The rise in wages in 1896 included all important industries except mining, but was most pronounced in the engineering and ship-building trades. As regards hours of labor there seems to have been a steady improvement in recent years. In 1893 the average decrease in the number of hours of labor each week for those effected was 1.99. In 1894, when the eight-hour day was introduced in all government establishments, the average decrease was 4.04 hours. In 1895 it was 1.94 hours, while last year it was 0.73 hours. In addition to elaborate statistics in regard to rates of wages and hours of labor in different trades the report gives an account of the sliding-scale arrangements introduced or continued in force during the year 1896.

IT HAS ALWAYS been a subject of regret among statisticians that so much of the admirable and original work of the Royal Hungarian Office at Budapest should be practically inaccessible through its publication in the Magyar tongue. Within limits imposed by national necessities, the office has made commendable efforts to make its work known to the scholars of other lands. The year 1896 saw the publication of a history of official statistics in Hungary, in German. A law of August 27, 1897, has reorganized the Central Statistical Office of the Kingdom, and we now have an official translation into English of this act which has been prepared and circulated by the office. Under the new law the statistical service is still further centralized and many of the usages of the office, such as the appointment of its staff and the co-operation of public school teachers in statistical enumerations, have been crystallized in statutory provisions.

THE BOOK RECENTLY published by Dr. Wilcox on "The Study of City Government,"* contains an outline of the questions relating to municipal functions, control and organization. As a convenient little reference book on some of the more important municipal problems, the work will gain for itself a distinct and not unimportant place in the literature of municipal government. Unfortunately, the plan of the work does not permit of an organic treatment of the subject. The relation of the municipality to the state, the organization of municipal departments, etc., are treated as separate and unrelated questions between which the reader will be able to find little or no connection. Although the purpose of the author is to indicate rather than to deal exhaustively with the questions presented by our municipalities, the method he has adopted fails to give a clear idea of the interdependence between the organization and functions of the city. To attain this end, it is necessary to begin with the city as a political and social unit having distinct problems. To endeavor to separate these problems, before showing their intimate connection with one another, robs the subject of that real and living interest which one finds in the works of Shaw and Goodnow. To those interested in municipalities as one of the expressions of national political life, the careful classification of facts contained in Dr. Wilcox's book will offer valuable material. That these facts are not co-ordinated constitutes the great weakness of the book; a weakness inherent in the method of the author.†

IN THE ANNALS for January some account was given of the last Congress of the International Institute of Sociology which was held in Paris in July, 1897. In that connection it was stated that no congress was held in 1896, but that a volume of papers prepared by various members of the Institute had been published for that year. The volume,‡ which is now before us, contains several important studies of interest to sociologists. In a preface the General Secretary, M. René Worms, gives a statement concerning the history of the Institute and its activity during the year 1896. Then follow twelve papers, the longest of which is that by M. Paul de Lilienfeld on "The Graphical Method in Sociology." This is accompanied by several ingenious charts illustrating the plan advocated for the graphical representation of social data. It will interest all who have to do with making statistics readable, but will

* *The Study of City Government.* By DELOS F. WILCOX, Ph.D. Pp. 268. Price, \$1.50. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1897.

† Contributed by L. S. Rowe.

‡ *Annales de l'Institut International de Sociologie.* Publiées sous la direction de RENÉ WORMS. Vol. iii. Pp. 462. Price, 7 francs. Paris: Giard & Brière, 1897.

probably be found too complex for very general use. The most original contribution to sociological theory is a paper by M. G. Tarde on "The Relation of Biology to Sociology," which is in the nature of a criticism of the fanciful biological analogies by one who is an advocate of psychological methods of analysis. M. René Worms contributes a paper on "Sociology and Morals," which discusses the influence of sociological study upon current theories of morals and upon the attempt to construct an empirical system of social morality. "Animal and Primitive Society" is the title of another of the longer studies contributed by M. Adolpho Posada, of the University of Oviedo, Spain. Some account of his theories of the beginning of social life was given in a review of his recent book published in the *ANNALS* for July, 1897. The titles of the remaining chapters are: "Botero and Campanella," by M. M. Kovalevsky; "Sociology of Politics," by M. G. Combes de Lestrade; "Progress of Political Institutions," by M. R. Garofalo; "Origin of the Nation," by M. Salesy Ferre; "Evolution of the Idea of Democracy," by M. R. de la Grasserie; "A Polish Sociologist; Stanislas Krusinski," by M. G. de Krauz; "Political Economy and Socialism in Relation to Sociology," by M. Limousin; "Causality in Sociology," by M. F. Puglia.

THE Railway Age, of Chicago, has published the first volume of a "Year-Book of Railway Literature."* The declared object of the publishers "is to put annually into permanent form all papers or addresses on the public relation of railways, appearing or being delivered during the year, which seem to have permanent value." Although some of the papers included in Volume I will hardly rank high enough to possess enduring value, the enterprise of the publishers is a commendable one, and the annual issue of these volumes will serve the useful purpose of making good transportation literature available for a larger number of readers. The first fifth of the book is taken up with a discussion of the subject of railway pools by Mr. George R. Blanchard, Commissioner of the Joint Traffic Association, and Mr. Aldace F. Walker, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Railway Company. This discussion is followed by nineteen papers in which transportation topics of current interest are treated mainly by railway officials. The last hundred pages of the book contain material that unquestionably possesses enduring value. The decision of the

* *The Year-Book of Railway Literature*, Vol. I. Compiled and edited by HARRY PERRY ROBINSON. Pp. 427. Price, \$1.00. Chicago: The Railway Age. 1897.

United States Supreme Court and the dissenting opinion in the suit of *The United States vs. The Trans-Missouri Freight Association* are printed in full, as is also the decision of the same court in the *Interstate Commerce Commission vs. The Cincinnati, New Orleans and Texas Pacific Railway Company et al.*, the decision which denies to the commission the power to fix reasonable rates to take the place of those that have been held to be unreasonable.

REVIEWS.

New Governments West of the Alleghanies before 1780. (Introduction to a study of the organization and admission of new states.) By GEORGE HENRY ALDEN, Ph. D., Professor of History in Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Iowa. Pp. 74. Price, 50 cents. University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1897.

This monograph is another evidence of the recent tendency among students of American history to broaden their field of investigation so as to include the history of the West, if not, indeed, to make the West *the standpoint* from which to view American History generally. In this preliminary study Professor Alden discusses plans and propositions for new governments west of the Alleghanies as well as the forms of governments actually established. Chapter I is devoted exclusively to "schemes for new colonies prior to 1766." Herein we are reminded that for over a century the colonists along the seaboard had (naturally enough) no inclination to go beyond the Alleghanies. Indeed, little or nothing was definitely known of the vast territory beyond. Governor Spotswood was the first to cross the Blue Ridge in 1716 and bring back to the Virginians adequate information of the beauty and fertility of the western country. But it was not until 1738 that the first step was taken in the direction of political organization by the Assembly of Virginia, which made provision for the establishment of the county of Augusta. During the early part of the eighteenth century the population along the seaboard grew rapidly. Settlements were made beyond the mountains. The increasing interest in the settlement of the West was manifested in the formation of numerous "land companies," to which large tracts of land were granted by the crown. This resembled very closely the earlier colonization of America by trading companies. After a century of experience colonization was evidently still regarded as a matter of trade rather than as an affair of government. "The first public proposition for colonial governments beyond the mountains" was made in the Albany Congress of

1754. The Albany proposition was shortly followed by a number of similar propositions, all of which aimed at the same end, viz., the colonization of the West. Among these the most important were: Pownall's proposition, Hazard's scheme, the Pittsylvania plan, the Charlottina plan, and Lee's proposition. But "the King's proclamation of 1763, declaring the western lands reserved 'for the present' for the use of the Indians, probably checked these and other movements toward western settlement."

In the second chapter of his monograph Professor Alden discusses at some length two more schemes for new colonies, made soon after this King's proclamation. The scheme for a new colony in "the Illinois country" was for a time supported by Franklin, who was at that time in London. But the most promising project, and the one which was strongly urged and supported by Franklin, was the scheme of the Walpole or Vandalia company. Franklin was successful in his efforts to obtain a grant from the crown. But the execution of the papers for the grant was delayed. Hostilities between England and the colonies broke out, and the scheme came to nothing.

In Chapter III, the author advances the following conclusions which are based upon the discussions in the preceding chapters: (1) Practically every proposition for a new colony involved its location on the Ohio. (2) The men who supported these schemes were for the most part from Pennsylvania and New Jersey. (3) Nearly all of the schemes for new colonies in the West proposed an invasion of territory included within the Virginia charter. Yet there was at this time, *i. e.*, prior to the Revolution, no protest from Virginia. (4) The right of the crown to re-grant vacant lands, regardless of the fact that such lands fell within territory already granted in a charter, was generally recognized. (5) "Taking all things into consideration, we may conclude that the British government, during the period considered, was, in the main, not unfavorable to western settlement under certain regulations." (6) It is altogether probable that the object of the King's proclamation of 1763 was to quiet the Indians and not to discourage the ultimate settlement of new colonies in the West.

It was not until 1775 that anything was done towards the actual establishment of a new colonial government west of the Alleghanies. Transylvania was not merely a proposition; it was a real government. It was one of those extra-legal political organizations which have characterized the settlement of the West generally. The brief history of the Transylvania government is outlined by Professor Alden in Chapter IV. The monograph closes with a brief

consideration of new state schemes prior to 1780. The schemes for colonizing the West prior to the Revolution aimed at the establishment of British colonies. Schemes proposed after the Declaration of Independence aimed to establish new states. Westsylvania and Silas Deane's suggestion are the two new state schemes considered in Chapter V. The author's general conclusion is that "we may fairly say that the schemes for new western governments prior to congressional action on the subject, served as a not unimportant factor in ushering in that action."

BENJAMIN F. SHAMBAUGH.

State University of Iowa.

Les Origines du Socialisme d'Etat en Allemagne. By CHARLES ANDLER. Pp. 495. Price, 7 francs. Paris: Felix Alcan, 1897.

The author of this valuable and interesting book believes in the power of ideas and of ideals to shape and direct social and political institutions; and believing that the thoughts of Savigny, Gans, Hegel, Rodbertus, Lassalle, Thünen and List, have profoundly modified the Germany of to-day, he thinks it worth while to examine carefully their ideas, to trace them at times to their sources, to compare them one with the other and to note their relative influences upon present day state socialism.

In the introductory chapter, after explaining briefly the purpose of his work, the author makes clear his understanding of the significance of socialistic doctrines, and thus acquaints the reader with his point of view. The socialistic problem is the abolition of poverty. One of the chief causes of poverty is established law. The Socialists, therefore, must set up an ideal law toward which they can struggle, and which, when secured, will abolish poverty. The first problem of the author is to describe the origin and bases of the new law which the Socialists propose.

He calls socialistic the systems of legal and economic thought which keep social needs in the foreground and adapt the protective organization of society to these needs. His second problem, therefore, is to discuss the socialistic treatment of social needs and the organization of labor proposed to satisfy these needs.

In the study of the distribution of wealth most political economists describe merely the effects of the established legal systems upon the distribution of wealth. The Socialists, on the contrary, present a preferable legal system which will, in their judgment, secure an ideal distribution and which, they believe, will thus abolish poverty. They believe that no one class in society has a

right to appropriate the means of production for itself at the expense of the other classes, and their theory of crises rests upon the belief that certain classes have thus deprived others of their due share in the means of production. The validity of the belief is examined by the author as a third problem.

All systems which propose a remedy for social crises by legislative means conformed to ideal juridical principles, are socialistic. He states and discusses the systems which have been proposed by the German State Socialists. And finally he calls socialistic the doctrines which teach that social solidarity can be realized not through any "harmony of interests" pre-established among men, but rather in a certain *milieu* called the state, and by the intervention of a collective, deliberating will. For his last problem, then, he will discuss the institution of this power proposed by state socialism.

In the present volume he completes only part of his task, discussing the origin of the socialistic conceptions of law, of property, and the retroactive effects of established laws; the socialistic conceptions of economics, of social value, of the organization of social labor, and of the distribution of wealth, under the captions of social revenue, of rent, of capitalistic revenue, and of wages.

The task of presenting the views of socialists, and of showing the relation between the different writers is thoroughly well done. The attitude of the author is, throughout, sympathetic, but he does not follow his leaders blindly. His position is that of one who anticipates more widely extended state action, but who feels that this increase of state functions ought to come gradually and without any especial effort on the part of individuals to hasten it.

There is in his judgment a social question—or rather there are several social questions—but their solution is not to be looked for immediately. Any attempt to realize now the plans of the Socialists would probably result in defeat. Society is not yet ready for their introduction.

He has no objection to the socialistic ideal of "liberty in justice," nor would he object to the further statement that "individual liberty can flourish only in a just society;" but he does not anticipate any immediate realization of complete liberty in this ideal society of the Socialists. He is inclined rather to see a gradual approach toward this ideal condition, and that through an increase in the functions of the state; but he realizes that the readjustment to new laws and new conditions that will be brought about by this increase in state functions must raise still more new social questions, and that all these social problems can never be solved. We may, however, rejoice in the thought of a continual progress toward a

better state, and may even enjoy the prospect of the "noble and insatiable torment" which leads us to pursue an ideal, even though that ideal can never be realized in its entirety.

It is to be hoped that the appearance of the next volume of this helpful and very suggestive study may not be long delayed.

JEREMIAH W. JENKS.

Cornell University.

A Short History of British Colonial Policy. By HUGH EDWARD EGERTON. Pp. xv, 503. Price, 12s. 6d. London: Methuen & Co., 1897.

There are few fields of historical research which offer such opportunities to the investigator as the colonial policy of Great Britain. Three sciences, history, economics, and politics unite in a theme which possesses both historical interest and present importance; indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that the problems connected with her colonial policy are those of most vital importance to Great Britain at the present time. The history of British colonial policy is a subject as difficult as important. The territory which the historian is obliged to cover is large, and is full of paths that lead to many contiguous domains of closely related subjects. The literature, both primary and secondary, to be mastered, is extensive, and the successful treatment of the subject requires a rigid exercise of the powers of exclusion on the part of the author. Mr. Egerton has done his work well. He has kept to his subject, and has produced a well-balanced book written in a tone of commendable fairness.

The author divides his subject into five parts. The first division deals with the period of beginnings and ends with 1651, when the first navigation act was passed. The second part, covering the time from 1651 to 1831, is called the period of trade ascendancy. This was the period when the colonies were regarded as though they existed for the benefit of the commerce of the mother country, the period of the dominance of the mercantile system in political thought. The third division of the volume treats the time from 1830 to 1860, "the period of systematic colonization and of the granting of responsible government," "wherein a genuine attempt was at least partially made to develop colonization on some sort of scientific principles." The fourth section of the book covers the period extending from 1861 to 1885, which marked the zenith and decline of *laissez-aller* principles. The last section of the volume, in which the years since 1885 are considered, deals with the period

of *greater* Britain, a period characterized by the growth of a new spirit. "This new spirit shows itself, in the case of the self-governing colonies, on the side of the mother country in a deepened sense of their value and of their claims; on the side of the colonies in a wider imperial patriotism, and in a more serious recognition of the difficulties entailed upon the mother country by her European and imperial responsibilities."

Students of American history will be especially interested in the admirably fair and judicial treatment of the relations of Great Britain with her American colonies. The author's impartial analysis brings out clearly the mistakes of the British policy that resulted in the separation of the colonies from the mother country. Especial emphasis is laid on the influence which the weakness of the executive part of the government that England established in the colonies had in bringing about the overthrow of British rule. The conclusions of the author regarding the failure of the British government in the American colonies are so suggestive as to merit quotation: "It is a strange irony," he says (page 133), "which has fastened the epithet tyrannical on the conduct of England toward her colonies. Incapable, weak, causing the maximum of friction with the minimum of result, colonial policy may have been, but to call it tyrannical is to travesty either language or facts. The situation, perhaps, admits of a general reflection. The government of the colonies, as the government of the mother country before the complete evolution of party government, may be defined as one possessing representative institutions but not responsible government. Now it may be safely affirmed that of all governments such a one is the most difficult to carry on. Order is possible under absolutism and under popular government. But the *tertium quid*, which confers power while refusing responsibility, generally, and we may almost say, inevitably results in anarchy. In England such logical issue was avoided by the organized employment of bribes, and by the defective character of parliament, from a representative point of view; but the colonial assemblies were not of sufficient importance to be sought as Danae by the metropolitan Zeus, while they did represent the people of the colony. Consequently, in their case, there were no retarding influences, and the impossible character of such government was completely brought out."

The book throws much light upon the history of the mercantile system. While the author is not a defender of that system he fully appreciates the objects which its defenders had in view and the results which were accomplished by adherence to it in the development of the foreign commerce and merchant marine of Great Britain.

Mr. Egerton's study has not given him much enthusiasm for Imperial Federation. He believes that it presents a plan that is neither workable nor capable of producing desirable results. He goes no further than to advocate including representatives of the colonies, the Agents-General, in the Privy Council. Australian Federation is approved, but the obstacles in the way of its achievement are clearly set forth. The union of the Australian governments will probably be achieved in time, and the results of their union will be beneficial to the British Empire.

The book, as a whole, is a valuable contribution to the literature of political science. It is a careful and thorough analysis of the working of British institutions under those conditions which have given them their severest test. In no other field of practical politics have the virtues of English institutions been more carefully tested and with results of which the British nation may be more proud. Although the author says concerning the narrative of British Colonial Policy that "the story has been largely a chronicle of mistakes and failures, sins of omission and commission, for some of which we are suffering to-day," yet, with the exception of the loss of the American colonies in 1783, success has been secured in spite of mistakes and failures, and the prospects of the continuance and more complete unification of the empire in the future are at least encouraging. Mr. Egerton's study has made him in no sense a pessimist; he has full faith that British institutions are to enjoy a future as successful as their past has been.

The book closes with a comprehensive critical bibliography which will be appreciated by all students of the question. The evolution of the British Empire in the future is certain to give increasing importance to the subject of Mr. Egerton's study, and this makes the service which he has rendered to students the greater.

EMORY R. JOHNSON.

Municipal Problems. By FRANK J. GOODNOW, A. M., LL. D. Pp. 321. Price, \$1.50. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1897.

During the past year Professor Goodnow has given us two important contributions to the study of municipal government. The present volume, together with that on "Municipal Home Rule," constitute the first systematic attempt to determine the position of the municipality in our political system. For this reason, if for no other, Professor Goodnow's work deserves an exceptional place in the literature of American political institutions. Notwithstanding the fact that the author is breaking new ground, he shows so

thorough a grasp of the subject in its different bearings, that subsequent writers will find the most fruitful plan of work mapped out for them in the lines of research indicated in the suggestive chapters of these two books.

The discussion of municipal problems in the present volume, as well as in the volume on "Municipal Home Rule," is in the main a legal discussion, dealing with forms of organization and with the probable effect of changes in such organization upon our political system. The author has happily avoided the great danger in this method of treatment, namely, that of considering one part of a system isolated from the other institutions to which it belongs, and of which it forms a part. He has kept constantly in mind the organic relations existing between city and state and the influence of any change in that relation upon state as well as municipal activity. Furthermore, in considering the organization of the various organs of municipal administration, the reader is impressed with the close interdependence of these organs and the consequent impossibility of changing the constitution of one without profoundly affecting the working of the others. The chapters which illustrate these principles most clearly, are those dealing with the sphere of municipal activity and the relation of the city to the state. The necessity of combining some kind of central control with a large measure of local autonomy is clearly shown. The possibility of attaining this end, however, is just as much dependent upon a change in the attitude of the state legislature toward cities, as upon a change in the constitutional relations between city and state. Up to the present time the legislature has regarded the city as its creature and agent. It has made no distinction between those municipal functions which are distinctly local in character, and those which affect and are of direct interest to the state at large. As a result, the justifiable control over the latter has been extended to the former, where it takes the name of "interference" rather than "control," and tends to hamper the activity of local authorities as well as to diminish the incentive to local initiative. It is upon this distinction between the functions of *general* and *local* concern that the author develops the principles of state control over the affairs of municipalities. This distinction furnishes the keynote to that portion of the work which deals with the relation of the city to the state.

Professor Goodnow has clearly seen, however, that a change in the organic relations between city and state, together with a change in the attitude of the state legislature, is not sufficient to bring about a healthful development of our municipal institutions. The

last five chapters of his work deal with the organization of the municipality, together with the more prominent political forces determining the actual working of the system. Amongst the latter the author deals with universal suffrage, and the influence of national political parties. The high plane upon which the discussion of these complex questions is maintained is a matter for sincere congratulation. The perspective has not been distorted by a narrow interpretation of immediate expediency. The permanent and "long-run" interests of the country furnish the basis for the treatment of these questions. Keeping these principles in mind, the author is able to avoid the superficial treatment of municipal reorganization which characterizes so much of the literature on municipal affairs. He has clearly seen that a change in the organization of our municipal governments rests upon a modification of our political ideas and of the method of reasoning in municipal matters.

In discussing the most efficient organization of the city executive and the city legislative, the author does not hesitate to set himself against the trend of opinion. The chapter on the City Council is particularly interesting and suggestive in this respect. The author starts out with a clear statement of the rôle of the municipal council in the life of a municipality, showing how necessary an organ it is to preserve local autonomy. Local representative bodies, with wide legislative powers, are indispensable to the maintenance of popular governments—of real local self-government—and constitute in their reactive effect one of the great educational forces in a community. It is, therefore, a matter of the very greatest importance that our municipalities be so organized as to leave room for a vigorous local representative assembly. The tendency to reduce the city council to a position of insignificance and to strengthen the executive at its expense cannot furnish the basis for a vigorous development of local institutions in a country where democracy means popular responsibility, and popular responsibility means popular election. Such a system results in the transference of the elective principle from offices where it is justified, viz., the election of councilmen; to offices where the system works real harm, as in the election of heads of departments. Professor Goodnow demonstrates how the appointment of new heads of departments by each incoming mayor takes from the administration the continuity and stability necessary to good government.

We are unable to enter upon a more detailed presentation of the author's recommendations as to changes in our present system. To separate such recommendations from the arguments with which they are supported would be to rob them of their value. Only through

the careful reading and re-reading of the work is it possible to do justice to the breadth of view and careful analyses of the author. No single change will solve the complex problem of city government. Changes in political ideas, in methods of individual action and thought, in forms of organization and in the spirit of administrative work must be effected, before we can hope to have good city government.

L. S. ROWE.

Statistik und Gesellschaftslehre. By Dr. GEORG VON MAYR. I Band, *Theoretische Statistik.* Pp. 202. Price, 6 marks. Freiburg, 1895. II Band, *Bevölkerungsstatistik.* Pp. 486. Freiburg, 1897. (*Aus Handbuch des öffentlichen Rechtes, Enleitungsband*).

The well-known "*Handbuch des öffentlichen Rechtes*," projected by the late Professor H. Marquardsen, bids fair to be a perennial enterprise. The last two years have seen the appearance of fragments of an introductory volume, destined to embrace not only general political science, but the main branches of economic science as well. The monographic character of the entire work may well excuse us from any consideration of the internal harmony of the publication as a whole. It may be doubted whether Professor Philippovich, in his treatment of political economy, or Professor von Mayr, in his treatment of statistics, was influenced in the slightest degree by the fact that his book was to be part of a hand-book of public law, and as such was to appeal primarily to jurists. In fact, the wide scope given to the collection has necessitated the practical independence of the numerous contributors.

Dr. von Mayr's work is as yet incomplete. The hope expressed in the "*Theoretical Statistics*," that a second volume on "*Practical Statistics*," would complete the work has not been realized. The author has, like his predecessors, been led to give the subject of population statistics a separate treatment. It was the promise of a comprehensive treatment of practical statistics which led me to defer a notice of the author's "*Theoretical Statistics*." I felt some curiosity to see how the two would be fitted together, and did not wish to pass judgment upon the author's theory until I had seen it put into practice. Indeed, I cannot but feel that the author has, like Professor Richmond Mayo-Smith, accomplished the easiest part of his task. However, a further postponement of a notice of Dr. von Mayr's work until its completion would not be just either to the author or the readers of the ANNALS.

Statistics, says Dr. von Mayr, is the science of aggregated human phenomena (*menschliche Massenerscheinungen*). The significance

of the definition is not apparent to the layman, and, indeed, as in most German text-books, the introductory statements dealing with the abstract relations of the subject, make hard reading. On a closer examination it will be seen that the two more or less opposed views of statistics as a concrete science of social facts on the one hand, and a science of method on the other, find almost equal expression in the definition. It is not our purpose to discuss here the justification of this amalgamation of the two conceptions. So far as the author has proceeded, it must be admitted that his treatment of the subject follows logically from this definition. The definition requires first a logical unity of methods of investigation, second, a co-ordination of the results of statistical research into a well-rounded, coherent body of thought. Without denying the interest of the second volume, of which we shall speak, it may be doubted whether Dr. von Mayr has applied his scientific ideal to the statistics of population as successfully as he imagines. In the remaining domain of practical statistics the difficulties of the application seem even greater. The only way to avoid these flounderings appears to the reviewer to lie in the acceptance of the proposition that scientifically considered statistics is a method of investigation and nothing more.

If statistics be, as Dr. von Mayr asserts, the science of human or social aggregates, it is evident that a consideration of such aggregates in general, their accessibility to investigation, and the means of investigating them, must precede the study of the specific characteristics of the definite aggregates, or types of aggregates. These general considerations constitute theoretical statistics, while the special study makes up practical statistics.

In fact, the greater part of the first volume is devoted to the method and technique of statistics. The application of statistics to the social aggregates instead of the aggregates in general (Meitzen) leads the author to treat of statistical method in its particular application, and to make, therefore, no fundamental difference between questions of technique and those of method. In contrast with the opposite procedure of Meitzen, the treatment gains in interest, through the frequent reference to concrete problems. For ordinary, and, indeed, for most trained readers, the treatment would have gained still more in interest if the illustrations had been elaborated and not merely suggested, as in many cases. The steps in the statistical process are stated with great care, and an occasional hint is thrown out of the pitfalls which beset the inquirer which quickens and enlivens the whole treatment.

But after all this part of the study is by no means food for babes. When it is understood that the author follows in the main, with

the distinction already noted, the analysis of Meitzen it will be understood that it requires a well-ordered, patient and long-suffering mental digestion to fully assimilate it. It is to the nature of the subject rather than to the treatment that this is due. There is at times what appears to be an over refinement of treatment, an insistence upon matters of terminology which jars upon the reader. The terminology of statistical method in all its details is by no means fixed, and there is no obvious need of the author's elaborate subdivisions. It is too often assumed that a thing is explained because it has a name given to it. The German tendency to look at a subject from every possible point of view, promotes, like the plans of an architect, a knowledge of detail, but often interferes with the just appreciation of the significance and relations of parts, which we gain from a perspective drawing.

The theory of statistical processes is followed by a consideration of statistical administration and the history of statistics. Here the author touches concrete ground and is forcible and direct. The intimate connection of statistics and administration is emphasized by the author's definition of statistics and hence these chapters fit well into the general plan of the work.

The volume thus far considered is, after all, a book for specialists. It constitutes the clearest and most comprehensive statement of statistical methods as applied to social phenomena that has yet been given us. The sketch supplied by Meitzen is filled out. With this enlargement it becomes more convincing. Those versed in statistical lore feel surer of their ground. They do not have to strain so much to catch the author's meaning. In the main they will concede the justness of the author's views and the exactness of his analysis.

The second volume, on the statistics of population, embodies a portion of what the author designates as the system of practical statistics. A further volume is to treat of moral, intellectual, economic and political statistics, and complete the entire work. In accord with his definition of statistics the author endeavors to prepare a second volume from a cognate though different point of view. In this volume he tells us he is not so much concerned with methods as with results, with the establishment of various uniformities in the structure and processes of population. Yet, since the special field of investigation gives direction to the statistical methods, we must always examine the process by which the facts are gathered. Thus we have for the many relations of the population a discussion of the means employed to secure the facts and to collate and present them. This preliminary discussion

marks the point of contact of the first and second volumes. It often expands to a summary and critique of the practice of the leading nations. However much or little it may have lain in the author's intention, this discussion of method is the real binding element in the book. However important the results, the reader cannot escape the impression that they are related to one another chiefly as the fruits of a common method of investigation. In the reader's recollection the unity of the material fades before the unity of the method. It is not so much the definite results of population statistics, though these are presented with commendable detail, which impress themselves upon him, as the fine and pertinent criticisms of methods of collecting and collating statistics for displaying particular relations.

In the arrangement of his materials Dr. von Mayr follows the usual order, discussing the structure of population before the changes of population. For the general population he discusses the territorial, natural and social distribution of the population, and then proceeds to a brief consideration of certain selected groups of the population. In his treatment of the changes of the population, he distinguishes between those which affect the quantity and those which affect the quality of the population. Among the former are considered the changes due to births and deaths and, for limited areas, migration. Among the latter are treated the changes due to marriage and divorce, and the rudiments of general statistics of morbidity.

In his treatment Dr. von Mayr has accomplished marvels of completeness and self-restraint. He has followed the relations of the population into their furthest details. He has shown the significance of the various combinations of population data, and has usually given at least a few pregnant illustrations. When we are concerned with the more usual and customary relations he has expanded his illustrative material until it practically amounts to a reference book for statistical data. Where the official statistics of the more important states are defective—and it is surprising how often they are—he has rummaged through the multitudinous tomes of lesser states until he has found the material needed.

In order and arrangement these volumes show care and forethought. Each of them is provided with an ample index, while throughout the books a full bibliography follows each paragraph. The references, generally by page, are most exhaustive, and a marked tribute to the author's survey of the field of statistical literature, and to his system in writing. Despite these excellences the references may be severely criticised as defeating their own object.

Certain systematic works on the subject of statistics are practically indexed in these references. The author never takes up a subject without telling where X, Y and Z have treated the same subject. Now it may be, and very frequently is, that X, Y or Z's treatment is distinctly inferior to that of Dr. von Mayr. Such references serve no useful purpose and would disgust the reader who should look them up. They are very numerous in Dr. von Mayr's pages, and throw into the background the really useful references to monographic and periodical literature. It requires great discrimination to know how to use the references given.

In a book of high standing one is often impressed by flaws which are thrown into relief by the very excellence of the background. This should not, however, blind us to the merits of such works or cause us to withhold praise which is justly due. Dr. von Mayr's work is the foremost systematic presentation of statistics which has been given to the world in many years, and will probably be a standard work for a long time to come. No work of recent times does so much to clothe the subject with the full dignity of a science, and to assert its right to such dignity. This latest and most matured fruit of the genial author's life-long labors in the service of statistical science has received a warm welcome from professional statisticians, and will prove of the utmost value to all who are interested in social and economic science.

ROLAND P. FALKNER.

The History of Mankind. By Professor FRIEDRICH RATZEL. Translated from the second German edition by A. J. BUTLER, M. A. With introduction by E. B. TYLOR, D. C. L., F. R. S. With colored plates, maps and illustrations. Vol. II. Pp. xiv, 562. Price \$4.00. London and New York: The Macmillan Company. 1897.

We may classify the races of mankind either according to their ethnological affinities, or with reference to their respective geographical situations. Professor Ratzel employs both standards and seeks to reduce them, as nearly as may be, to common terms. The Pacific islands form the geographic basis of the ethnography of the first volume of the English translation of the "*Völkerkunde*," and the races of Oceania, the Australians, and the Malays and Malagasies are there described as living within this territory. But all these people belong at the same time, ethnologically, to what Professor Ratzel calls the "American Pacific Group of Races," and under the same head he further includes the aborigines of America and the Arctic races of the Old World. Thus the second volume

of "The History of Mankind," while concluding the ethnography of this so-called "group of races," advances us geographically to the American continent, and then leads us back across the Behring Straits into the Arctic regions of Asia and Europe. Having completed his account of the American Pacific group of races, Professor Ratzel next carries us over into Africa and devotes himself in the two following books to a description of the Ethiopian races, dealing in the third book with the Light Stocks of South and Central Africa, and confining Book IV exclusively to the Negroes. The present volume contains but the first section of the latter book, however, giving us an account of the South and East Africans.

It is as a geographer that Professor Ratzel is at his best, and the main interest of the present volume therefore centres about his descriptions of the American and African continents. Regarded from the standpoint of the concrete, civilization is relative to time and place, but the influence of the two elements is by no means constant; for primitive culture is predominately determined by the environment, and it is only in the higher stages, when man has learned to control the forces of nature, that the time element becomes the chief determinant. While premising the antiquity of the various stages of culture he is describing, Professor Ratzel is therefore right in laying most emphasis upon the physical environments in which they are found. Ethnography thus follows from geography, and from this point of departure the primitive civilizations of Africa and America become more intelligible.

In the first volume geographic conditions were further employed to aid in solving the ethnological problems of the Pacific islands, and we were there led to expect that the same methods were to be used in the second volume for determining the still more difficult questions of the peopling of America and Africa. But such is the evident antiquity of the human race that the present distribution of the land and water surfaces of the earth can not lead us far back of the historical period, and ethnological conclusions based upon the presumption of "ancient bridges of land" are, according to our author, geological hypotheses "needing the keenest scrutiny."

Thus the idea suggested in the first volume of a two-fold migration from Asia across the Pacific to America, *via* Behring Straits on the one hand, and by way of Easter Island on the other, is not further elaborated in the present work. Connections are, indeed, pointed out, in passing, between the Indians of Northwest America and the South Sea Islanders (p. 100), and again, between the Eskimo and the Arctic races of Northeast Asia (p. 107); but, lest we should presume too much from this, we are expressly told that

"the question as to the origin of the American civilizations is forever unanswerable" (p. 167), and that "the roots of those wonderful developments reach down to some primeval common property of all mankind, which found time in the thousands of years which precede history to spread itself over the earth" (p. 170). And without any further scrutiny of the various hypotheses offered to explain the manner and direction of these primeval migrations, we are informed in conclusion that we may nevertheless "hold firmly to the relationship of the Americans with the East Oceanic branch of the Mongoloid race."

The question of the peopling of Africa is equally obscure, but everything points, Professor Ratzel says, to successive waves of migration from the north and the east, each wave becoming absorbed in the mass of the earlier comers and each in its turn modifying the type and giving rise to still further variation. The search for the typical negro thus becomes futile, and, in the author's opinion, we should rather take the essential unity of the Ethiopians as our point of departure and endeavor to account for such variations as we find on the above mentioned hypothesis of successive migrations from the north and east (p. 245). Central Africa accordingly contains the most typical population, while the Soudan "forms the middle term between dark and light Africa, apparently divided parts out of which its mobile races have tended to make one whole" (p. 246).

Before entering into the details of American and African ethnography Professor Ratzel takes a general survey of the conditions of culture in each continent, contrasting them one with the other and comparing them with the more advanced civilizations of the Old World. These chapters on "The Americans Generally" and "The Negro in General" are the most instructive and interesting of the present volume, and it is here that the prevailing geographical conditions are best set forth as efficient causes.

Regarded from this point of view and "rightly understood, the New World has," according to the author, "to supply the key to the greatest problems of anthropology and ethnology. The reason for its decisive importance is to be found in its isolated position." Polynesia also offers interesting examples of isolating influences, "but it shows us neither the persistency of a single racial type under all climates of both hemispheres, such as we find it in America and nowhere else; nor yet all the stages of culture, from the Fuegian, on a level with the Tasmanian, up to the wealthy Incas of Peru." And "nowhere else on earth do we get a more enthralling insight into what man, under the influence of progress

and retrogression, checks and aids to development, is capable of becoming" (p. 10). Comparing America with Europe, Professor Ratzel says: "The contrast between pastoral and agricultural races which gave rise to the civilization of the Old World, is reduced in the New to a contrast between nomad and settled tribes" (p. 163). We should not therefore speak of American race migrations "as if they had all taken place under one impulse and in one connected period," for "nothing is known of any such migration in America, nothing comparable, in that land without herds or herdsmen, to our period of the 'Wandering of the Nations' " (p. 165).

In like manner "we must bear Africa in our eye if we would understand the Africans." Its "unfavorable position at the end and on the border" accounts, in our author's opinion, for "the backward condition in which the people of South Africa have remained" (p. 237); and its connections and approaches lying in the direction of its northern and eastern sides, "the ethnography of Africa will be constructed on a general Old World, and specially Asiatic basis" (p. 239). Professor Ratzel also takes into account the hydrographic, orographic, climatic and geognostic conditions peculiar to the African continent and thus lays a broad geographic foundation for his ethnographical conclusions.

But external conditions only work indirectly upon the progress of civilization by providing and limiting the food supply, by stimulating or repressing inventive ingenuity, and in aiding or checking the accumulation of wealth. It is economics, in other words, which forms the middle term between geography and sociology, and this element being disregarded in Professor Ratzel's work, the sociographical details here set forth lack the cohesion that we now have some right to expect. True, much of the detailed material collected by sociologists is useless because fitted to the frames of untenable hypotheses, but doubting the theories of social evolution thus far advanced and suggesting no other, Professor Ratzel only offers us a mass of data which admits of no orderly arrangement. As Comte expressed it: "If it is true that every theory must be based upon observed facts, it is equally true that facts can not be observed without the guidance of some theory." Thus while we are groping about for a satisfactory theory of social evolution, even such an array of facts as these now offered by Professor Ratzel are, as Comte would have insisted, but "desultory and fruitless," although we are properly introduced to them through the wide doorway of geography. As geology is rationally antecedent to geography, so ethnology logically precedes ethnography, and this much is admitted by our author. But it is equally true that some sociological

hypothesis, however vague it may temporarily be, must guide us in our sociographical descriptions if the data set forth are to serve any more than an antiquarian purpose.

Like the former volume, the present volume is sumptuously gotten up and profusely illustrated. The maps facing pages 336 and 337, showing the civilizations and races of Africa, are instructive in themselves and a great aid to a proper understanding of the text. Having such admirable maps of Oceania and Africa, it is to be regretted, that none is given of America so that the reader might more readily locate the centres of culture in the New World and note the relative positions of the various savage tribes described. As the work is so purely descriptive there are few special conclusions to discuss. We are surprised, however, to learn on page 131 that "slavery was customary among all Indians," and would be inclined to doubt the assertion unsupported as it is with any further proof. The statements contained on pages 331 and 369 in regard to the feelings of African parents toward twins are contradictory as they stand, but probably because the terms employed are too general.

The translation of the present volume is of uneven merit and not up to the standard set in the first volume. To take an extreme example, on page 291, the sentence "the mother carries the baby on her back in a lamb's skin, with the hind-legs round her waist and the fore-legs round her neck" requires at least an elementary knowledge of human anatomy on the part of the reader for its proper interpretation; whereas, by rights, an understanding of English should suffice.

To summarize: the second volume of the "History of Mankind" continues the author's account of the various races of man and notes the influence of the environment upon the respective civilizations of the Americans and Africans. Everything in ethnography that can be directly established from geography is well substantiated, and many interesting suggestions are offered from the same point of view to elucidate some vexed questions of ethnology. When the field of sociography is entered, however, there is nothing to guide the reader, but this defect may perhaps be better attributed to the imperfections of our infant sociology than to any lack of consistency on the part of the author.

LINDLEY M. KEASBY.

Bryn Mawr College.

The Social Mind and Education. By GEORGE EDGAR VINCENT.
Price, \$1.25. Pp. ix, 156. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1897.

There never was a time when attention was so strongly concentrated on the collective idea in general as at present. Books and articles are constantly appearing, each presenting some aspect of this idea. Simmel is talking about collective responsibility, Durkheim about the social division of labor, Le Bon about the psychology of crowds, Novicow about social consciousness and will, and Ross about mob mind, while the large class of sociologists who call themselves "organicists" are laboring to show that society itself is analogous to, if not identical with an animal organism fully integrated for the performance of functions common to the whole. All this is no doubt due to a growing solidarity in society which is perceived by each of these writers under different aspects according to the constitutional differences in the human mind. Its historical significance may be expressed by saying, without any pretence to exactness, that, in Europe and America at least, the predominant idea of the eighteenth century was paternalism, that of the nineteenth has been individualism, while that of the twentieth is to be collectivism. The constitution of the state corresponding to and resulting from these several ideas has been respectively autocracy and democracy for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with a prospect of something approaching to what has been called sociocracy for the twentieth.

The work before us is a laudable and largely successful attempt to set forth the history, character, and present status of this movement. So small a work could, of course, do this only in its most general aspects, but the matter has been well sifted, judiciously selected, and logically presented. The bearing of education upon the subject, as indicated in the title, only becomes clear on reading the book. It is made to appear so by showing that back of the movement is a widespread philosophy which has been slowly taking shape and influencing thought and action. That this philosophy has been growing more and more practical with time is obvious to the most superficial observer. Science, which is so intensely practical, is making it so and it is beginning to be seen that philosophy is, after all, only a sort of science of the sciences. But the close work that has been done on the classification of the sciences, especially in their hierarchical arrangement by which the broader and higher ones are shown to grow out of the ones below them, and to contain all that is in them with a large *differentia* of their own, has naturally raised the question what is to be the last of this series,

the broadest and highest of them all, that must contain them all and itself constitute the real *scientia scientiarum*. Professor Vincent is not the first to see that this can be none other than sociology in its widest sense, or, as he prefers to call it, social philosophy.

It is here that the educational side of the book finds its sanction. It is through education, in the proper sense of that defective word, that science must be acquired and make itself felt. But the road to the great crowning science lies through the humbler ones, and it is no royal road. It is a long road at best, and the educational problem of to-day may be said to be the shortening of this road so that the maximum number may succeed in really traversing its entire length and reaching the goal. There is a school of educational philosophers who insist, with more or less unanimity, that the individual must make this journey in all respects as the race has made it, by the trial-and-error method—in a word, through experience. One of the chief objects of this book I take to be to point out the fallacy of this reasoning, and to show, as the author expresses it, that there are many "short cuts" which may be taken, by which both time and effort can be saved and practically the same results secured. It is strange that in this age of steam and electricity it should be necessary to defend so manifest a principle, but the educational field seems to be the only one left in which pioneer and stage-coach methods still prevail.

The modified form of Rousseau's education of nature that has grown up under modern doctrines in biology, is that education for the individual must stand in some such relation to the great school of experience through which the race has had to pass as the embryonic and foetal development of every higher organism stands to the evolution of its race—must be, not indeed a repetition, but a recapitulation of the entire history of the knowledge acquired. But even this, when squarely looked at, is seen to be an absurdly expensive method, and one which would have as its practical effect the exclusion of the majority from the acquisition of most of the useful knowledge of the world. A single illustration, not indeed adduced by our author, will make this clear. Almost the last truth that science has revealed is perhaps the most useful of all, viz., the true nature of zymotic diseases. Consider the prolonged and almost hopeless search that the world has made after the causes of the commonest diseases with which men are afflicted! It is scarcely half a century since the truth fairly dawned, but the knowledge of the cause is rapidly leading to successful remedies and a great extension of human life. Now the greater part of all that it is necessary for any but the physician to know of this hard-earned result can be taught

to a class of intelligent students in a single well-arranged lecture! A "short-cut" indeed! But what is true here is true in varying degrees of nearly all useful knowledge, and it is of the utmost importance that such knowledge be put, by the most direct method possible, into the possession of all. Whatever may be the limitations to the transmission of "characters," physical or mental, all at least are agreed that knowledge is not transmissible, and notwithstanding the rapid increase of the sum of knowledge, every one must acquire it all anew for himself, and no one can stand in this respect as a substitute or proxy for another.

All hope, therefore, of securing any adequate measure of social assimilation of the increasing knowledge in the possession of mankind seems to depend upon the adoption of educational methods that will insure the extension of the most necessary part of it to the maximum number through the simplest forms of instruction; and therefore we can fully endorse the following paragraph:

"It is not, then, Utopian to believe that the time will come when many of the ablest minds will be specially trained and devoted to the service of helping college students to organize and integrate their studies into a philosophy of social life and a way of looking at the universe. For this is a task which cannot longer be neglected. If the experience of the race counts for anything, the view of the whole is quite as important as the knowledge of details. This view of the whole should not be left to happy accident. A purposeful 'short-cut' must be directed to the higher education. 'Knowledge comes, but wisdom lingers.' Much has been done to hasten the advent of knowledge. It remains to accelerate, in some measure at least, the tardy pace of that unified knowledge, which is wisdom" (p. 135).

Of the merits and efficacy of the "curriculum" proposed for securing this general end the present writer does not feel qualified to speak, chiefly from lack of experience in the practical work of teaching, and he prefers to leave this part of the book to other reviewers competent to do justice to this important aspect of it, but of the main positions taken in the work and of its general tone and tenor, not less than of its admirable temper, there should be, it would seem, but one opinion, and that a decidedly favorable one.

The work bears evidence of extensive and painstaking research and contains very few errors of citation. One only need be noted. Mr. Spencer does not, in his latest classification of the sciences,* place "astronomy after physics and chemistry," as stated on page 48, but merges physics and chemistry in geology, which he places

* See *Science*, New Series, Vol. iii, No. 60, Feb. 21, 1896, p. 294.

after astronomy. The typography and general make-up of the book leave nothing to be desired, and there are very few typographical errors in the text proper, but owing to hasty proof-reading an unusually large number of such occur in the numerous citations in foreign languages, which will doubtless be corrected in another edition. It has a good index.

LESTER F. WARD.

Washington, D. C.

The Workers (The East). An Experiment in Reality. By WALTER A. WYCKOFF. Pp. xiii, 270. Price, \$1.25. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1897.

Mr. Wyckoff, who is now Lecturer in Sociology at Princeton University, gives in this very readable volume, the contents of which have already attracted wide attention as they appeared in the form of articles in *Scribner's Magazine* last year, a view of the life of the unskilled laborer in certain industries in the East. The author seeks to furnish an accurate account of the unskilled laborer's view of life as well as to give a clear picture of the social and economic conditions acting upon him. The author spent some time in southeastern New York and northern Pennsylvania in actual experience with the problems which he discusses. He set out in July, 1891, with a small pack and dressed as an ordinary workingman in search of work, willing to turn his hand to anything that might earn for him the next meal or a night's lodging, and without any special fitness for manual occupation. He relates his experiences with a vividness that holds the reader's attention from beginning to end; his command of language and his power of expression have made his work a literary success. The experiences gathered in the present volume, which is to be followed soon by one dealing with conditions in the West, cover a period of little over three months, during which time he was occupied for more or less considerable periods as a day-laborer at West Point, as a hotel porter, as a hired man at an asylum for the insane in southeastern New York, as a farm-hand in northeastern Pennsylvania, and as a laborer in a logging camp in a lumber district near Williamsport.

To the real student of labor problems much of this experience will seem to be too fragmentary a basis for far-reaching deductions from the facts presented in Mr. Wyckoff's book. Indeed, one chief merit of the book is that the author himself does not make any sweeping or far-reaching deductions; he allows his narrative to

produce its effect through its strong human interest. The conclusions are somewhat uneven in their value for the student; those dealing with the life of the unskilled laborer at West Point and of the farm-hand furnish more food for reflection to the students of labor conditions than the others. Studies which help us to get at the psychology underlying the life of the different classes in society, are of great importance, and Mr. Wyckoff's book, in view of the fact that it will reach a large number of readers and hold their interest, will be productive of much good in stimulating the right kind of study of social questions. On the basis of the same experience, however, Mr. Wyckoff could doubtless give a much deeper and far-reaching analysis of the psychology of the unskilled laborer for the benefit of technical and scientific audiences. Something has necessarily been sacrificed in making this narrative readable and interesting for the general public.

SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY.

ASSOCIATION MEETINGS.

THE NATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE REFORM LEAGUE.

The seventeenth annual meeting of the National Civil Service Reform League held at Cincinnati, December 16 and 17, 1897, came at a time when its proceedings would be followed carefully by friend and foe because of the congressional attack led by General Grosvenor. Delegates from nearly all the Eastern and Middle States and from some of the Southern States were present.

The first day's session was devoted to the meeting of the executive and general committees, to the reading of the secretary's report, and the report of the condition of civil service reform in the several states.

The secretary of the league, Mr. George McAneny, submitted with his report an "Open Letter to the Hon. C. H. Grosvenor, in Reply to Recent Attacks on the Civil Service Law and Rules," containing a refutation of that congressman's inaccurate statements regarding the civil service law and its enforcement.

The reports from the several states were more or less favorable. Mr. Woodruff declared that Pennsylvania's hands were tied by Senator Quay, but that public opinion was gradually being aroused in favor of reform. Mr. Ela, of Chicago, predicted that the Supreme Court of Illinois would uphold the Chicago reform act, in which event the civil service system would be given a fair test. Since the meeting the Illinois Supreme Court has sustained the law.

Mr. Rodgers, of Buffalo, stated that the reformers of New York would use every legitimate means at their command to defeat Governor Black's attempt to "take the starch out of" the New York law. Mr. Bonaparte, of Baltimore, assured the delegates that the recent defeat of the civil service reform law proposed for Maryland was the best thing that could have happened, as the measure was drawn with the express purpose of defeating true reform. Mr. Foulke, of Indiana, in commenting upon the proposed legislation in Congress affecting civil service reform, stated that he did not think it probable that any serious adverse legislation would be enacted.

On Thursday night Hon. Carl Schurz delivered his annual address as president of the League. Mr. Schurz, in his lucid, simple and convincing way, presented the whole case for civil service reform in such a manner that this address will hereafter be the

source to which all who seek arguments for the purpose of conviction, as well as of refutation, must have recourse.

It is impossible, within the limits of this note, even to attempt a summary. But it is due to President McKinley, whose conduct as a civil service reformer since his inauguration was highly praised, and in whose public utterances the members of the League place the utmost confidence, to quote what President Schurz said of him.

"True to his honor as a gentleman, to his vows as a Republican, and to his duty as President of the United States, Mr. McKinley stoutly held his ground against the fierce foray which was set on foot to overwhelm him. It may be said that to resist pressure, especially pressure from party friends aiming at a wrongful object, is the first and most obvious duty of the head of a state, and that its simple performance does not call for extraordinary praise. But when faithfully performed against unusual urgency, as in this instance, it deserves a tribute of gratitude, and this tribute should be heartily paid to President McKinley by every true friend of good government."

In its declaration of principles the League demands of every Republican senator and representative a faithful fulfillment of his party's pledges to enforce the present federal civil service law and to extend its operation wherever practicable; it recognizes in President McKinley's non-removal order, except for good cause and after actual notice, a wise and just measure, and demands its fair trial; it further demands that the merit system be applied in the Census Bureau.

The League likewise renews its previous declarations in favor of the repeal of the four-year tenure of office act, the extension of the merit system to the consular service. It expressly disclaims any advocacy of civil service pensions as a part of the merit system, which contemplates pensions no more than did the system of appointment and removal by favor; on the contrary, an assured tenure during efficiency should enable public servants, by exercise of frugality and forethought displayed by all prudent persons, to provide for the ordinary contingencies of age and infirmity.

The several papers that were read at the public meeting on Friday, December 17, were exhaustive and contained much important matter. The subjects and the writers can only be given here. "The Merit System in Municipal Reform," Dr. Albert Shaw, New York; "The Republican Party and Civil Service Reform," Hon. Henry Hitchcock, St. Louis; "The Democratic Party and Civil Service Reform," Hon. Moorfield Storey, Boston; "The

Legal Situation, the Right to Compete for Public Employment," Edwin Burnett Smith, Esq., Chicago; "Do the People Want Civil Service Reform?" Charles J. Bonaparte, Esq., Baltimore; "The Municipal Situation in Ohio," Hon. Rufus B. Smith, Cincinnati; "The Merit System in the Program of Municipal Reform," Horace E. Deming, Esq., of New York City.

Hon. Carl Schurz and Mr. George McAneny, of New York, were unanimously re-elected president and secretary of the League for the ensuing year, and Boston was selected as the next place of meeting.

The Women's Club entertained the delegates at luncheon Friday noon, and Friday night the visiting delegates were tendered a banquet by the Cincinnati Municipal Civil Service Reform Association, at which the Hon. Wm. H. Taft, Judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, presided. There was a large attendance, and one of the features was the presence of delegates from the leading local labor organizations, one of whom responded to the toast, "Organized Labor and Civil Service Reform." It seems that the laboring men are awakening to the importance of the civil service reform movement and are enlisting themselves in its behalf.

The League will have at Washington, during the present session of congress, a committee which will watch all legislation that in any way tends to weaken the force of existing civil service law, and which will assist the friends of the law in congress to withstand hostile attacks.

In the language of President Schurz, "It seems that the rapid progress of the merit system has put its enemies in a desperate state of mind, and that seeing their case in deadly peril they have resolved to rally their whole force for a final effort. The hour has come for them to do or die." * * * "Can our victory be doubtful? The enemy being desperate the struggle now before us may be bitter and arduous. Grant's Wilderness campaign of 1864 was the bloodiest of the civil war. But when it began the rebellion was in fact already broken and doomed. Whoever still fights for the spoils system sacrifices himself for a lost cause. The final victory cannot fail to be with sound democratic principles, reason and civilization."

MAX B. MAY.

Cincinnati.

AMERICAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION.

The tenth annual meeting of the American Economic Association was held at Cleveland, Ohio, on December 29, 30 and 31, 1897.

The meeting was held in connection with the annual meeting of the American Historical Association.

On account of the absence of the president of the Association, Professor Henry C. Adams, in Europe, the usual presidential address was omitted. The first vice-president, Professor Franklin H. Giddings, of Columbia University, presided over the meetings and made a short introductory address of welcome at the first session.

This session was devoted to the discussion of the "Relation of the Gas Supply to the Municipality." Hon. Carroll D. Wright, of Washington, D. C. Commissioner of Labor, gave an account of the investigation which is now being made through the Department of Labor into the cost of producing gas throughout the country. He was followed by Hon. Elroy M. Avery, of Cleveland, who pointed out the difficulties which beset all investigations of this nature. Professor John Henry Gray, of the Northwestern University, of Evanston, Ill., read a carefully prepared paper which dealt with the work and experience of the State Board of Gas Commissioners of Massachusetts.

The evening meeting was held jointly with the American Historical Association, and the program was under the charge of that organization. The question considered was the "Opportunities for Advanced Studies of History and Economics" offered in the various countries of Europe. The discussion was conducted by Professors H. Morse Stephens, of Cornell University; Abbott, of the University of Michigan, and C. H. Hull, of Cornell University.

The session of Thursday morning, held jointly with the American Historical Association, was in special charge of the American Economic Association. The program consisted of a paper on the "Relation of Rate-Making to Taxation," presented by Professor Arthur T. Hadley, of Yale University and a discussion on the "Teaching of Economic History" which was conducted by Professors H. B. Gardiner, of Brown University; H. R. Seager, of the University of Pennsylvania, and G. W. Knight, of the Ohio State University.

At the afternoon session of the same day, Thursday, Professor Taussig presented a statement of some results of a recent inquiry into taxation in Massachusetts. This was followed by a discussion of the "Methods of Teaching Economics," conducted by Professors A. T. Hadley, of Yale University; R. Mayo-Smith, of Columbia University and F. M. Taylor, of the University of Michigan.

The session of Friday morning was devoted to a discussion of the proposals for the reform of the currency. The leading speakers

were Professor F. W. Taussig, of Harvard University, and Mr. Horace White, of New York. General A. J. Warner, of Ohio, the well-known advocate of silver, made an interesting contribution to the discussion which followed.

Ample provision was made by the hospitable people of Cleveland for the entertainment of their visitors, and the social incidents which form so important a part of these gatherings were particularly pleasant.

At the meeting of the council it was decided, after much discussion, to revive from time to time, as occasion might seem to establish, standing committees for the discussion of special questions and the presentation of reports to the Association. This revives, after a fashion, the standing committees which were instituted at the origin of the Association, but which had ceased to exist.

The officers elected for the ensuing year are as follows: President, Professor Arthur T. Hadley, Yale University; vice-presidents, Professors H. B. Gardiner, Brown University, John H. Gray, Northwestern University, and Winthrop M. Daniels, Princeton University; secretary, Professor Walter F. Willcox, Cornell University; treasurer, Professor Charles H. Hull, Cornell University.

NOTES ON MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

AMERICAN CITIES.

New York City.—*Rapid Transit.* The recent decision of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of New York is a severe blow to the rapid transit projects of the commissioners appointed under the Rapid Transit Act of 1891. The act provided for the appointment of a commission to consist of eight members in every city having one million inhabitants. This board was given power to fill any vacancies that might occur. It was made the duty of the board to determine the advisability of constructing a rapid transit system. If the board should come to an affirmative conclusion, it is given power to determine the route and the general plan of construction. A copy of these plans must be transmitted to the common council, and approved by the latter by a two-thirds vote, and also by the mayor. After obtaining the approval of the local authorities, the board is required to obtain the consent of the property owners along the line of the route. If such consent cannot be obtained, the board may make application to the general term of the Supreme Court for the appointment of three commissioners to determine and report, after due hearing, whether such railway ought to be constructed. A favorable report of the commissioners, if approved by the Supreme Court, may be taken in lieu of the consent of the property owners. Acting under its authority, the commission first attempted, in 1891, to obtain from the existing elevated railway companies the extensions and other facilities necessary to secure rapid transit. The companies refused to comply with the requirements of the commission in making such extensions. In November, 1894, the people of the city voted for the municipal construction of a rapid transit system. The act of 1891 was amended in 1895, giving to the commission additional power. The commission immediately prepared plans for an underground railroad; secured the approval of the local authorities and of the commission appointed by the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court. In May, 1896, however, the Appellate Division refused to confirm the report of the commission. The objection of the court was based mainly upon the uncertainty of the amount requisite for the construction of the road. Furthermore, the loan necessary for the construction of the subway would.

probably have carried the city beyond the constitutional limits of its borrowing power. Early in 1897, the commission prepared a second plan which was approved by the local authorities. In July of that year another commission was appointed by the Supreme Court which, in October of last year, unanimously approved the plan.

In a decision just handed down, the court approves of the report of the commissioners, but prescribes such additional conditions as to make the execution of the work practically impossible. Section 34 of the Rapid Transit Act requires that the individual or corporation constructing the road for the city should file a penalty bond with sureties, to double the amount of the bond. The court requires that this bond be fixed at not less than \$15,000,000, which would mean providing for joint and several sureties to the amount of \$30,000,000. Furthermore, the court requires that the bond of \$15,000,000 be provided for a period of fifty years; in other words, not only for the period of construction, but also for the period of lease of the operating company.

A committee of the commission, in a report issued on January 13, 1898, criticises the decision of the court, maintaining that the Rapid Transit Act does not contemplate a bond beyond the period of construction. "If a bond for \$15,000,000 to continue for fifty years were required," says the committee, "the obligation of the contractor by way of security would be, first, to deposit the \$1,000,000; second, to advance, from time to time, the cost of construction until he was repaid by the city; third, to submit to the withholding of percentages until complete construction and equipment; fourth, to provide for the first lien to the city on an equipment worth between \$6,000,000 and \$10,000,000; and, fifth, to provide sureties to the extent of thirty million dollars for a period of fifty years." The contractor must then return to the city, in rental, its expenditure for construction with the interest thereon and at the end of the lease absolutely surrender the railway to the city. "The city, no doubt, ought to make such a bargain if such a bargain be possible; but, in the opinion of your committee, it is, under municipal and business conditions now existing or in prospect, obviously and absolutely impossible. If there be a contractor who can meet these requirements, he would find it far more to his advantage to build the railroad himself, assuming all its risks and enjoying its ownership." In conclusion, the committee states that the maximum amount of security that can be exacted from the contractor at the present time would be "a cash deposit of \$1,000,000; a retention of not less than 10 per cent of the cost of the work until completion; several bonds to secure construction

and equipment, amounting in all to not more than \$7,500,000, or 25 per cent of the cost of construction, and a continuing bond for such an amount as, with the city's lien on equipment, would be equal to seven years' rental."

The indications at the present time are that the Supreme Court will refuse to recede from its position, in which case the prospect for the construction of an underground railway is very slight indeed. The probabilities are that the commission will be compelled to invite existing elevated railway companies to submit plans for the extension and improvement of the present system.

Street Cleaning. The Commissioner of Street Cleaning, Mr. George E. Waring, Jr., has just presented a final report of the operations of the Department of Street Cleaning during the three years of the administration of Mayor Strong. The report gives evidence of the great progress that has been made in the administration of this department, in the efficiency of the service, and in everything that pertains to the utilization and effective disposal of refuse material. While the cost of the department to the city has materially increased, the increase has been largely due to the improvement in the plant and in repairs to the equipment made necessary by the failure of the preceding administration to keep the plant in good order. One of the most striking results has been the utilization of waste products. Of the 800,000 loads of domestic ashes per annum, equal to 1,200,000 cubic yards, 20 per cent represents unused coal easily recoverable. This means some 144,000 tons, for which the city receives something like \$360,000, and other products, such as fine ash, clinker, etc., would yield a little over \$300,000, although the latter has not as yet been so utilized.

In the other branches of the Street Cleaning Department similar advances, have been made. The method of unloading garbage on tide-waters has been abandoned, resulting in far greater cleanliness as well as improved sanitary conditions in many of the coast resorts of Long Island. The report contains a great number of cuts, illustrating the different processes and changes adopted by the department.

Chicago.—Civil Service Decision. The recent decision of the Supreme Court of Illinois on the constitutionality of the Civil Service Law of March 28, 1895, has given a strong impetus to the reform movement in that city. The law provides that officials whose appointments are subject to the confirmation of the city council and the heads of any principal departments of the city, are to be exempt from the provision of the law. With the new city administration, which came into office last year, the interpretation

placed upon such clauses was such as practically to nullify the provision of the act. The provision in question was so interpreted as to give power to the common council to increase, by ordinance, the number of officers to be appointed by the mayor, subject to the confirmation of the city council, and thus to increase the number of exemptions under Section 11 of the act. Acting under this supposed power, councils proceeded to exempt the assistant superintendent, the inspectors and captains of police from the classified service. It is this action which the court declares to be illegal, and adds that all ordinances exempting departmental subordinates from the classified service are illegal. All positions which are of a lower grade than the chiefs or heads of those departments must be placed in the classified service; with this qualification "that wherever, at the time the Civil Service Act was passed, an office, or place of employment was one, the appointment to which was to be made by the mayor, subject to the confirmation of the city council, it is within the exception named in Section 11, and is excluded from the classified service."

The effect of this decision will be to prevent further violations of the spirit of Civil Service Law.

Pennsylvania.—*Street Railways.* The report of the Bureau of Railways, which has just been published, gives some interesting information as to the development of the street railway system in Pennsylvania. During the year ending June 30, 1897, the total amount of outstanding capital stock of street railway companies was \$143,489,309; the amount of indebtedness, \$28,812,430; the amount of current liabilities, \$84,266,976, representing a total capitalization of \$220,568,715. Of this total, the street railway corporations themselves own \$52,314,349. Major Brown, the Chief of the Bureau, comments at length upon the fact that the comparison of figures for different years is sure to be misleading, as the increase in capitalization does not represent a corresponding growth of the street railway system, owing to process of lease, merger and consolidation. There is a constant tendency to the inflation of capitalization. "While there have not been many consolidations or mergers in law, yet practically there have been a large number of cases where traction companies, as authorized by law, have leased lines of other street railway corporations upon a nominal rental. The stock, or a larger portion of the stock of a leased company, is assigned to the traction company by stockholders, taking in lieu thereof stock of the new company. This is practically a consolidation, as the stock so held by the traction company of the leased line or lines is of no great value, in most

cases there being little or nothing paid in the way of dividend or for rentals. There are, of course, exceptions to this view of the case, but if a fair appraisalment could be made of the cash value of the \$52,314,349 of the stocks and bonds owned by the street railway companies it would be found that the figures would be very much reduced." The great advance of the total capitalization during the last six or eight years is largely due to the fact that, when a traction company takes charge of lines by lease, merger or consolidation, the capitalization of the traction company is made usually two or three times as great as are the combined capital of the companies leased, merged or consolidated.

The report dwells upon the decline of street railway traffic, due to the extended use of the bicycle. An inquiry conducted in Harrisburg led to the following interesting results. Between the hours of seven in the morning and six in the evening, it was found that of a total of 6078 persons passing a given point in the cars or on bicycles, 4161, or 67.7 per cent used the latter method of conveyance, and but 32.3 per cent the former. That this means a serious inroad upon the receipts of the company requires little demonstration.

Boston.—*Street Railway Lines.* An excellent instance of the value of public control over corporations enjoying public franchises is seen in the recent action of the Massachusetts Board of Railway Commissioners in withholding their approval from a proposed lease of the franchise and property of the West End Street Railway Company to the Boston Elevated Railway Company until the parties thereto had complied with the conditions prescribed by the board. Under an act of 1894, as amended in 1897, the Boston Elevated Railway Company was empowered to enter into a lease or contract for the operation of the West End Street Railway Company. One clause of the act provided that, "No such lease or operating contract shall be valid until the terms thereto, so far as they relate to the rental or compensation to be paid, and to the due and safe transportation of the public, have been approved by the Board of Railway Commissioners."

According to the terms of the lease, the Boston Elevated agreed to pay for the property and franchises of the West End Company all expenses, interest, taxes and charges of every kind, and an annual sum of \$7500 for the maintenance of the corporate organization of the West End Company, and also to pay on each and all of the charges of the preferred and common stock of the West End Company, now outstanding or hereafter issued, a cash dividend of 8 per cent free of all taxes, in each and every year during the term

of ninety-nine years from October 1, 1897. After a careful appraisal of the property of the West End Company and its probable earning capacity, the commissioners are led to the conclusion that this is not a reasonable rental charge. They clearly see to what an extent a lease of this kind would hamper the legislature and municipal council in dealing with the rapid transit problem in Boston. In permitting a lease of this character to go into effect, the city would be deprived of a share in the increasing profits of the street railway traffic. As the commissioners say, this rental "must be paid in full before more than the minimum percentage of compensation tax could accrue to the city or town. Whatever the future accepted rate of return, hitherto tending downward, on capital invested in public service corporations, or at whatever rate, under private or public ownership or control, fresh capital might be forthcoming, the rate here fixed would run on until the end of the lease without diminution or power of revision."

The commissioners furthermore objected to the long rental period of ninety-nine years. In accordance with the suggestions of the commission, the terms of the lease were modified by reducing the stipulated rental on the West End Company stock from 8 to 7 per cent, and by shortening the term of the lease from ninety-nine years to twenty-four years eight months and nine days. In this way the terms of the contract are such as to safeguard the interests of the public, while at the same time preventing inflated capitalization of the leasing company which the original lease would have made necessary.

Report of Rapid Transit Commission. The third annual report of the Boston Rapid Transit Commission for the year ending August 15, 1897, indicates that the original plan of underground transit has nearly reached completion. With the termination of this work, however, the duties of the commission will by no means be ended, as recent enactments of the Massachusetts Legislature have placed in its charge a number of additional plans for the extension of the system, the completion of which will probably cover several years. The portion of the subway system now completed will relieve the congestion of traffic in the central districts of Boston. The expense of construction will practically be borne by the railway company leasing the subway, although the original outlay was made by the city. The agreement which has been entered into with the West End Railway Company, the lessee of the subway, gives to that company the use of the subway for a period of twenty years. This right it may sublet to any other corporation or corporations, or may assign all its rights and privileges. In return for this grant the company binds itself: First, to pay a sum equal to 4½ per

cent of \$7,000,000, or 4½ per cent of the net cost of the subway if such cost shall be less than \$7,000,000. In no case, however, is the payment to be less than a sum "calculated by charging a toll of five cents for each passage through the subway of a car not exceeding twenty-five feet in length, and a proportionately greater charge for cars of greater length;" second, the company is required to equip the subway with tracks, wires, appliances, fixtures, machinery, furniture and apparatus; third, suitably, adequately and to the satisfaction of the commission, to light the subway, and the cars running therein, by electricity or such other non-explosive illuminant as may be approved by the commission; fourth, to maintain the subway in good condition and to make all repairs necessary therefor at its sole cost and expense; fifth, the power to be used for the operation of the railway within the subway and all of the apparatus placed therein, is limited to electricity, compressed air, or some agent, the use of which will not be accompanied by smoke, steam, or noxious products; the use of steam or animals within the subway as a motive power, except temporarily in cases of emergency, being prohibited; sixth, advertising within the subway, on the walls or otherwise, is prohibited. The company is permitted, however, to place and maintain booths of suitable size and character upon each platform for the sale of newspapers, magazines, periodicals and books; seventh, the city reserves the right to place in the subway such wire and apparatus as may be necessary for its police and fire-alarm service. The company is given power to grant to any person or corporation, authorized by law, the right to use and maintain for purposes other than railway business, the wires, conduits for wires, and pneumatic tubes within the subway.

It will readily be seen from an examination of the terms of this contract that the interests of the public are carefully safeguarded. The short duration of the lease, viz: twenty years will enable the city to make new and better terms with the company at the expiration of the contract. By that time the payments of the company will have been sufficient to meet the annual interest and sinking fund requirements of the bonds that have been issued for the construction of the subway.

Consolidation of Gas Companies. During the last few years the process of consolidation of private corporations performing quasi-public service has proceeded at such a rate that at the present time the principle of natural monopoly has fully asserted itself in most of our large cities. One of the recent steps in this direction has been the consolidation of the gas companies of Boston through purchase by the New England Gas and Coke Company. The price

paid by the latter company was \$14,000,000. This represents, however, but a part of the actual capitalization, as many of the stockholders of companies thus purchased have received stock in the New England Company in exchange for that of the original company.

*Mayor's Address.** Hon. Josiah Quincy was re-elected Mayor of Boston in December and delivered his inaugural on Monday, January 3. The address included a detailed review of the year's municipal activities, and contained some novel recommendations looking towards improved methods of government. He expresses a strong belief in the desirability and practicability of doing away with nominating conventions for all city offices; the regulation of the caucus, and its consequent development into a primary election, having progressed far enough to make it possible to abolish the political convention altogether, and to make municipal nominations come direct from the party voters. The next step in electoral reform would logically be to give the voter, in his party caucus, the right to designate directly, instead of indirectly, his choice for the party nomination. The average results would be better and safer, more representative of the popular will, and less subject to the intrigues of ward politicians. He favored the adoption of the New York City charter clause that provides that every ex-mayor, so long as he remained a resident of the city, should be entitled to a seat in the city council, and to participate in its discussions, but not entitled to a vote. With a view to further strengthening the city council and bringing it into closer touch with the great interests of the city, a similar right should be conferred upon a representative from each of two important organizations, one representing capital and the other labor, and each constituted upon the federation plan. One of these is the Associated Board of Trade, the other the Central Labor Union.

The mayor recommends the establishment by ordinance of a Public Baths Department, to be managed by a commission of seven unpaid members, of whom at least two should be women. The proposed ordinance provides for full terms of five years, and gives the commission full charge of all public baths and public convenience stations. These functions are at present in the hands of the Board of Health.

In place of the existing Art Commission the mayor recommends the establishment of an art department to consist of five members—one each to be named by the trustees of the Museum of Fine Arts, the Boston Society of Architects, and the Boston Art Club—the other

* Communication of Sylvester Baxter, Esq.

two to be appointed by the mayor, and to be either an architect, a sculptor or a painter; each member to be appointed for five years. This board would have the same functions as the present Art Commission, and also award commissions for works of art for which city appropriations are made or which are otherwise under control of the city.

Merchants' Municipal Committee. The Merchants' Municipal Committee, to serve as an advisory body for the mayor, which became a feature of the administration at the beginning of Mayor Quincy's term two years ago, consisted of seven members appointed by each of several representative mercantile associations. The mayor has now changed its basis by delegating to the Associated Board of Trade, representing all the mercantile bodies, the appointment of the seven members.

A Municipal Newspaper. In accordance with an intention announced in the mayor's inaugural, a municipal newspaper was established with the beginning of the year. It is called the *City Record*, and is the official gazette of the executive departments of the city. It is the second newspaper of the kind in this country, the city of New York having maintained a similar publication for over twenty years. Such municipal publications are not uncommon in Europe. The mayor holds that, in view of the successful operation of the municipal printing plant, it seems particularly appropriate that Boston being equipped to issue such publication without making any contract therefor, should adopt this policy. The *City Record* is issued weekly, at an estimated cost of not over \$5000 a year. The paper is edited under the direction of the Board of Municipal Statistics, Dr. Edward M. Hartwell, the secretary of the board, being practically the editor. The city departments are supplied with the paper free, and citizens may obtain it at five cents a copy, or by subscription at \$2 a year. One of the mayor's reasons for establishing the paper is to throw the fullest light of publicity upon all executive actions as a basis for proper public criticism. The mayor urges that the publication be provided for by ordinance, making it the official gazette of the entire city. The verbatim proceedings of the city council are now published by contract in one of the daily newspapers, and it would save considerable expense to have this publication take place in the *City Record*. The cost of the *City Record* is borne proportionately by the various departments. Advertisements of the departments and other legal notices are printed at 12½ cents a line. The departments furnish for publication each week reports of all meetings of boards, all formal action taken by heads of departments, a full copy of every

advertisement issued and a summary of all proposals received in response to the same, a statement of all awards of contracts, and such current statistical matter relative to department operations as appears suitable for regular or occasional publication. The plan of the paper includes a record of all executive activities, such as messages from the mayor; orders, ordinances or votes approved or gone into effect without approval; notices of all public hearings; a summary or full text of important bills affecting the city, pending in the legislature, and the full text of all laws passed affecting the city; official actions of the school committee; vital and social statistics from the Board of Municipal Statistics, including official information of the operations of other cities in this country or abroad; special communications to the mayor from heads of departments and information for the public from the departments; a record of lawsuits affecting the city, and of the settlement of claims against the city; an outline of principal features of the city finances; illustrations of work proposed or executed by any department as may be desirable to give a clear idea of the same; activities of the Civil Service Commission concerning the city; official information concerning the several metropolitan commissions; and actions taken, or reports made, affecting the city, by state commissions and officers. The *City Record*, in the few numbers already published, proves exceedingly interesting to all students of municipal affairs.

School Board Reform. A scheme for a radical reform in the constitution of the school board has been agreed upon by a number of persons having the welfare of the schools at heart, and will be urged upon the present legislature. It provides for a complete separation of the legislative and executive functions, whose combination in one body makes the existing school board so inefficient. Under the new plan there would be a school board of twelve members, nine of whom are to be elected by the voters, three being chosen each year. The other three members are to be appointed by the mayor, one each year. The annual appropriation for school purposes, including construction of schoolhouses, would be made by the board, but kept within a fixed limit determined upon a percentage of taxable valuation. All executive work would be performed by the superintendent of schools and his staff; all business, including purchase of supplies, by a business agent. Boards of visitors are provided for—one of twelve members, for the schools in general, and a local board, of three members, for each school district. A novel feature is a "school faculty" composed of a certain number of teachers, to meet at regular intervals for

discussion of matters affecting the schools, and report to the school committee.

Franchise for Refrigeration Conduits. A franchise has been given to the Eastern Cold Storage Company to lay, in certain streets, conduits and pipes for refrigeration purposes, the company to pay to the city for each of the first three years after the laying of its pipes, one per cent of the gross receipts from customers supplied with refrigeration from such pipes, and thereafter two per cent of the gross receipts.

Repair Division. The municipal policy of direct purchase of materials and the direct employment of labor, under competent technical supervision and executive direction, that was successfully put in practice by the Electrical Construction Division of the Public Buildings Department has received further application in the establishment of the Repair Division of the same department. In establishing this division the mayor holds that with a small permanent force, to be increased whenever special work may require, it will be possible to execute all repairing at a saving of expense and at the same time guaranteeing a better quality of work. It might even prove desirable to have such a force do some special portions of the work on new buildings, or even wholly to construct small buildings. The mayor sees very considerable practical advantages in having a permanent staff, familiar with all of the work of the city instead of distributing such work among a large number of contractors, not all of whom are likely to do good work. In certain other departments, such as the Bridge Division, the city already does its own carpentering and painting upon a considerable scale. The Repair Division will do carpentering, plumbing, painting, etc. The Architectural Division has general supervision over the Repair Division. The mechanics employed are obtained from the civil service commission by requisition. The wages and hours of work are those fixed by the unions for first-class workmen. The mechanics are not permanently employed, and they continue on the pay-roll only while there is work for them. The mayor holds that the city should be able not only to save the profit upon materials now charged by contractors, but to purchase in sufficient quantities to obtain lower prices than small contractors, can secure. Friends of the direct employment of labor on public works see in this innovation the germ of a regular works, or construction department, that eventually will do all building for the city.

San Francisco.—*Charter.* After several unsuccessful attempts to avail itself of the home rule provisions of the constitution of California, San Francisco is about to make another effort in this.

direction. The constitution provides that in all cities with a population of 10,000 or over, the inhabitants may frame their own charter by electing a board of fifteen freeholders to draft the same, which draft must be submitted to the people at a special election. Previous charters framed in this way have been rejected in San Francisco owing to the fact that the political party in power has always seen reason to oppose them. Some time ago the mayor of San Francisco appointed a Committee of One Hundred to consider the question of a new charter for the city. After many months of careful and serious consideration this committee finally agreed upon the outline of such a charter. This charter convention nominated fifteen freeholders as candidates for the charter board provided for by the constitution. At a recent election the fifteen candidates of the Committee of One Hundred were elected, thus assuring the incorporation of the ideas of the Committee of One Hundred in the proposed new charter. It remains to be seen, however, whether the fate of this charter will be the same as that of its predecessors.

FOREIGN CITIES.

Birmingham.—*Public Baths.* The superintendent and engineer of the Birmingham Public Baths have recently issued an exhaustive report on the development of the system in that city. Since the beginning of the movement for the establishment of permanent public baths in England in 1851, the city has constructed four large enclosed establishments and two open-air baths. The total cost has been about a half million of dollars. During the fiscal year, ending March, 1897, 401,745 persons made use of the facilities offered. The total receipts for the same period were \$30,482; the total expenditure, including interest and sinking fund on the loans for the construction of the baths, amounted to little over \$47,000, leaving a deficit of \$16,518. The rather high excess of expenditures over receipts has been due to several causes. In the first place, the price of first and second-class baths has been kept at a low figure; the former costing 6*d.*, the latter 3*d.*, with reductions for commutation or club tickets, as will be seen from the following table:

FIRST-CLASS DEPARTMENTS.

Swimming or Private Teaching Baths, Single Tickets, with Two Towels, . . .	\$.12
Books of 10 Tickets (for Swimming Bath only),	1.12
Books of 20 Tickets,	2.00
Half-yearly Tickets, January to June,	2.62
Half-yearly Tickets, July to December,	2.62

SECOND-CLASS DEPARTMENTS.

Swimming Bath, with a Private Dressing Room (with One Towel),	\$.09
Swimming Bath, without a Private Dressing Room, . . . . .	.04
For Use of Extra Towel, . . . . .	.02
Hire of Bathing Drawers, . . . . .	.02

Furthermore, the department of education of the city has, at stated intervals, sent the pupils in the public schools to the different bathing establishments. For school children the department of baths has been allowed about one cent per bath.

The extension of the system of public baths is illustrated in the following table:

Date. Years ending December 31.	Number of Men.	Number of Women.	Number of Children.	Total number of all Bathers.	Receipts from Bathers, etc.	Amount of Working Expenditures, exclusive of Interest and Sinking Fund, but including Office and Administrative Expenditure.
1851	73,631	5,084	. . . .	78,715	\$ 5,267.04	\$ 1,361.41
1860	95,625	4,931	. . . .	100,556	8,881.22	9,294.08
1870	167,111	8,960	2,317	178,388	14,539.75	15,310.89
1880	258,682	13,685	36,860	309,227	22,044.14	20,497.81
*1891	288,510	18,464	38,019	344,993	26,886.85	33,540.18
1895	257,199	19,374	42,291	318,864	25,065.33	34,336.97
1897	329,485	22,786	49,474	401,745	30,481.85	34,737.66
Total for the entire period 1851-1897.	9,622,293	581,008	893,587	11,096,888	860,688.68	\$960,031.08

In many of the larger cities of England the growth of public bathing establishments has been even more rapid than in Birmingham. Thus, Manchester has at present eight large establishments and one free open-air bath; Liverpool, seven and one free open-air bath; Newcastle-upon-Tyne, six; Glasgow, five; Salford, four; Bristol, three; and the other towns have from one to three establishments.

Grenoble.—*Municipal Restaurant.* The Department of Labor in a recent "Bulletin" publishes an interesting account of a municipal restaurant in the city of Grenoble, France. For a period of over forty-five years this institution has been in existence, each year increasing its usefulness to the community. Its greatest service has been to furnish cheap and wholesome food at low prices to the working-classes. On an average, nearly 1300 meals are served each

* Change of fiscal year to March 31, instead of December 31.

day, which does not include the food furnished the public and private schools. The prices range somewhat as follows:

Soup, one quart,	2 cents
Meat or Fish, 4½ ozs.,	4 "
Plate of Vegetables,	2 "
Wine, one-half pint,	2 "
Bread, 4½ ozs.,	1 "
Dessert,	2 "

In addition to this service, the restaurant is used by a large number of private families. The administration has arranged to have the food prepared at the restaurant served at private houses.

SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES.

The Winona (Minn.) Social Science Club.*—The organization of clubs for the study of society gives occasion for some remarks upon their significance and possibilities. The local social science club in some form is being called into existence by a general demand, natural and inevitable, for greater knowledge concerning social growth, structure, and function. (The word social is here used in its largest sense.) It is not enough that the universities and colleges shall be centres for the study of these things. All the people must get a better and clearer understanding of them. The local social science club is one of the best means by which such understanding can be promoted among large numbers of people, and such clubs become local centers for the further propagation of social intelligence. This study of society when properly pursued stimulates a greater interest in local institutions and public welfare. It reveals the reality of social forces, and the vital significance of the relations existing between the manifold variety of social activities. It is an essential addition to the educational influences already at work to make men better fitted to live in the ever-enlarging social life, and do efficiently the duties of citizens. It can be made the common ground for all classes, sects, and parties of citizens who seek to promote legitimate public interests and the most desirable public sentiment. There is no better subject for the encouragement of adult education; and no phase of our public education needs supplementing more sadly than the socio-civic. It is by far the best of all subjects for showing the unity and relations of all other subjects, and their bearing upon man's life. Such work will contribute to a more comprehensive outlook upon state and national institutions, and the gigantic economic enterprises of our land. Thus it will do something toward removing the mystery that attaches to unknown forces, or those but meagrely understood. These local clubs, when the membership includes some who have had training in scientific methods, might become important auxiliaries to the university in gathering sociological data for scientific purposes.

But the limits of this note will not permit a further consideration of the general aspects of the topic. The following account of the

* Contributed by Professor Manfred J. Holmes, Normal, Ill. Winona, Minn., had 18,208 inhabitants according to the United States census of 1890.—ED.

first year's work at Winona will be given under four heads: (1) Its organization; (2) its personnel; (3) its program; (4) what it accomplished.

In the winter of 1896 Professor Zueblin delivered in Winona a course of lectures on Social Reform in Fiction, which aroused quite a general and deep interest in social studies. This opportunity was seized upon by some of the citizens to organize a social science club. Its constitution was very simple—an executive committee of five members, the chairman of which was president of the club; a committee on original studies, and one on current bibliography; also a secretary-treasurer. Meetings were held bi-weekly from October to May. A year's work was laid out in advance; but the work of the committees on original study and current bibliography gave ample flexibility and freedom for introducing current topics at any time it seemed best.

From the personnel of the club it was seen that some general acquaintance with the nature of the subject-matter and the method of study were some of the first needs. Also, that there would have to be a season for unification of spirit and purpose. The importance of this is obvious when it is known that, though the membership was purely voluntary, an invitation being extended to all, it was the aim to get together representatives of as many different economic classes, political parties, religious sects, and nationalities as possible—here to meet on common ground, not to represent the various parties, sects, and classes, but as fellow-members of one community to consider things of common interest. In this the club was not a disappointment, for it is surprising what a variety of people, as to wealth, religion, politics and economic status, found themselves appropriately brought together in recognition of most important relations and common ties. The business classes were well represented, but no merchants, day laborers or preachers, with one exception, came in. A special effort was to be made this year to remedy this defect. Nine universities and colleges were represented. This was significant in its suggestion that the college graduate is coming to find his place in the common life of his community; also, that the higher institutions of learning are touching the people more and more in a generally useful way. The central theme decided upon was the view of the general field of social phenomena given in Small and Vincent's "Introduction to the Study of Society." To give the work reality and concreteness original studies and themes were introduced. Of the original studies we might mention (1) the early history of the community, (2) a social analysis of the local institutions, (3) difference in opportunity to satisfy the wants

of man as observed in Winona, etc. The studies of general interest were reported in the local papers with a view to extending as much as possible the local thought upon these subjects. Two studies of special interest had to be carried over into the second year. One was the study of leisure to get a glimpse of the disposition of time and energy not consumed by economic activity, nor regular duties. This study pursued on a large scale would no doubt reveal some significant tendencies. The other arose out of the economic conditions likely to be found in a river lumbering town. The economic enterprises of Winona are not very varied, the lumber business being the chief one. A considerable proportion of the laboring population is dependent upon the labor furnished by the saw mills, which run about six or seven months of the year, leaving a considerable proportion of the mill hands to find a precarious support during the remaining months. The problem was (1) what is the economic status of that portion of the population thus affected by the regular suspension of their regular means of support; (2) what, in view of the rapid exhaustion of the lumber forests of the upper Mississippi, will probably be the economic readjustment of this population? Will it be a menace to the community in the shape of pauperism and criminal proclivities, or will an increase in the number and variety of industries relieve the situation? Of the special themes there were reviews of books and articles bearing on some phase of the year's study. For the sake of giving greater definiteness and suggestion of unity in the work a syllabus was printed showing the course and scope of the year's work; and in this syllabus the special themes and original studies were revealed in their proper relation to the larger subject. No small amount of care and firmness on the part of the officers had to be exercised in establishing the idea that a social science club is not a civic federation, nor a law and order league. Certainly, the social science club should make for more efficient service and life in promoting the most favorable conditions of government and society. This, indeed, is the fundamental and ultimate purpose of such study. But a club for the study of society will be deprived of most of its opportunity for usefulness when it abandons its legitimate business to be the target and imaginary enemy of considerable numbers in the community. It is truly a school for adult education, and should retain its character as such.

What was accomplished? is the legitimate question of the man of science and the man of affairs. It was largely a year of preparation, formation and unification. It gave some rich suggestions as to what could be done in this line; and the club was ready for

a second year of more energetic activity and profitable work. The writer's convictions and opinions embodied in these notes are all confirmed by what he saw necessary and possible in the line of social training and study while associated with the work at Winona.

Attention should here be called to the fact that the universities in their extension work have a rare opportunity for the encouragement and direction of the study of society in the various communities touched by their work.

Public Charities of New York City.—The State Charities Aid Association of New York is generally recognized as one of the strongest private organizations in the country, exerting an influence commensurate only with that of the State Board of Charities in pointing out the needs and abuses in connection with the public charities of the state. This association works in harmony with the New York State Board of Charities, and to some extent supplements its efforts. One of its departments is the so-called New York County Visiting Committee, which deals with the public charities of New York City. The twenty-fifth annual report of the visiting committee covers the several public hospitals in the city, the training school for nurses at the Bellevue Hospital, the almshouses for men and women, the city lodging-houses, and other public institutions. This is the first report that covers the operations of an entire year of the Department of Public Charities as now constituted.

Since January 1, 1896, the correctional institutions of New York City, including the penitentiary, workhouses, city prison and district prisons, have been organized as a Department of Correction, and since February 28, 1896, the New York City asylums for the insane have been transferred to the state and reorganized as the Manhattan State Hospital. This still leaves a considerable number of public institutions belonging to the Department of Public Charities.

The report speaks in the most encouraging terms of the improvement in the hospitals in the matter of nursing. With reference to the almshouses the general complaint of overcrowding has been provided for by the erection of several new model buildings. The census of the almshouses on October 1, 1897, shows, however, an increase in the number of inmates of very nearly one hundred. The great gain in the administration of the almshouses to which the visitors call attention consists in the elimination of unpaid helpers. Formerly, persons from the prison department were used as helpers, much to the detriment of the inmates and to the moral deterioration of the whole institution. Attention was called during

the year to some irregularities in the management of the steward. The charges reported by the committee to the Commissioners of Charities for consideration were dismissed practically without investigation; but the facts were then laid before the mayor, and since that date the office of the steward of almshouses has been abolished. The committee still finds reason to criticise the quality of the food provided, particularly in the almshouse hospitals.

In the concluding pages of the report a few comparative statements are made in this, the twenty-fifth annual report, with those contained in the first annual report published February 1, 1873, which seem to indicate that very substantial progress has been made in dealing with the problem, of the almshouse, which is perhaps one of the most difficult questions in the administration of public charities.

College, Social and University Settlements.—The eighth annual report of the College Settlements' Association* gives an account of the activities of the Women's Settlements in Boston, New York and Philadelphia. This pamphlet contains a separate statement relating to each of these three settlements, together with some account of the efforts of the association which encourages, guides, and, to some extent, controls this work. There seems to be no abatement in numerous kinds of efforts put forth in the clubs and societies organized within each of these settlements to provide for the healthy amusement and education of the special classes of nationalities represented in their respective districts.

"A Bibliography of College, Social and University Settlements," compiled by Mr. John Palmer Gavit, the editor of the *Commons*, has been prepared for the College Settlements' Association. It comprises a pamphlet of 74 pages, published from the same press as the eighth annual report, already alluded to, and contains as a frontispiece a wood-cut of Arnold Toynbee. It is issued as a third revised and enlarged edition of the bibliography which has been published for several years by this association and whose usefulness has been very generally recognized. The new edition, however, contains several new features. In the first place, the editor announces it as his purpose to furnish a complete volume to serve as a handbook and directory of the college settlements of the world. It gives a brief description of each settlement, arranged alphabetically as to cities in which the settlements are located, beginning with American settlements, and following with those in Great Britain and finally those in Asia and Africa. The description of each settlement is sufficient to indicate the character of its work, and includes references to other sources of information

* Pp. 44. Cambridge: Co-operative Press, 1897.

describing that work. Miss Susan G. Walker contributes a brief statement concerning the organization of the College Settlements' Association, and the editor furnishes an introductory chapter on social settlements. He says that underlying the settlement movement "a condition and a source of the main impulse is the new sense of the absolute unity of the race. The philanthropic pity for misfortune, the charitable desire to administer out of plenty to want, is often, perhaps usually, the impulse that draws the individual towards the 'slum;' but the conviction which grows to be the lasting inspiration of the settlement movement is the sense of unity of interest. The settlement is a great modern protest against the heresy that wealth makes character; that education can establish an aristocracy; that one can rise to a social pinnacle without obligation to those that have contributed to that rise; that men are by nature divided into classes by virtue of what they 'do' and 'have,' rather than of what they 'are.' Settlement life unites in simple social intercourse men of varied training and thought, permits them to share one another's knowledge, culture and vigor, and inspires them to use the greater power thus acquired in concerted efforts for the welfare of the community." Again, the editor defines a social settlement as "a person or group of persons (whether an actual family or not) desiring for mutual benefit to share their lives and culture with their fellow-men, taking up their residence somewhere—anywhere—in the impulse to express this desire and make their home a social centre for the community."

In addition to a brief statement concerning each settlement referred to, and a good index to this material, the pamphlet in hand contains a selected bibliography of books and periodical literature relating to settlements, and is, therefore, a useful source of information to the students of all phases of this movement.

The fourth annual report of the Kingsley House Association, Pittsburg, situated at 1709 Penn avenue, covering work for the year ending June 16, 1897, contains a brief account of the work done in that community. Although this settlement is composed of women workers, it is not under the jurisdiction of the College Settlements' Association. The report states that in no city of the United States is there the same demand for trained workers and skilled mechanics as in Pittsburg, and the report shows, furthermore, that some attempt has been made along the line of industrial training to render help in those directions.

The Liquor Traffic in New York.—The second annual report of the State Commissioner of Excise of the State of New York for the year ending September 30, 1897, was transmitted to the

legislature on January 17, 1898. The report in full has not yet been published, but the advance sheets of its important sections contain many items of general interest. The commissioner reports, in the first place, that the law works more smoothly, so far as its administration is concerned, since the people have become more familiar with its provisions, and those engaged in the liquor traffic, as well as the consumers of intoxicants, have adjusted themselves more fully to its conditions. The total receipts from the sale of liquor tax certificates and from transfers and fines for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1897, amounted to \$12,267,012.59. Deducting from this amount the county treasurers' fees there was a balance of \$12,205,524.28, of which the state received one-third and the towns and cities two-thirds. During the year 30,887 liquor tax certificates of all kinds were issued, and 27,953 remained in force on October 1, 1897. Comparing this with the period of twelve months prior to the enforcement of the new law, it shows a reduction in the number of drinking places of 5484.

The income received from the traffic under the new law shows an interesting contrast with the income under the old law. For example, for the twelve months ending September 30, 1896, under the old law the income was a little over \$3,000,000 and the cost of collecting it amounted to 8.65 per cent; while the results of one year's experiment from October 1, 1896, to October 1, 1897, under the new law show receipts amounting to over \$12,000,000 and the cost of collecting 2.67 per cent.

Mr. H. H. Lyman, the State Commissioner, discusses the financial results of the year in their relation to New York City, which he says is frequently cited as the one great sufferer from the present system of collecting and distributing the tax. He shows that the net revenue from the tax for the state amounted to \$5,392,275 20, of which the city received two-thirds, or \$3,594,850.13. Deducting the amount which it paid into the state treasury from the sum it received in rebated state taxation on the basis of the equalization table of 1897, there still seems to be a direct benefit to the city of New York in the state treasury, over and above what it pays to the state, a sum amounting to \$45,003.23; while the total benefit to the city revenues under the law amounts to nearly \$5,500,000. The actual number of certificates in force in the city of New York on October 1, 1897, was 7686.

The local option feature under the new law seems to be, in the opinion of the commissioner, much more effectual in reflecting the real sentiment of the several communities than it has been under previous legislation. The present law gives the electors the oppor-

tunity of voting directly and separately upon four questions: First, in relation to selling liquor to be drunk on the premises; second, selling liquor not to be drunk on the premises where sold; third, selling liquor as a pharmacist on physicians' prescriptions; fourth, selling liquor by hotel-keepers. Of the 942 towns in the state 62 voted on these questions in the spring of 1896, and 880 in the spring of 1897. The results show that pretty generally throughout the state the propriety of the sale of liquors by hotels and pharmacists is recognized. While the report shows that there are twenty towns which are less absolutely "no license" towns than when the law took effect, the commissioner states that there are many less saloons and groceries where liquors are dispensed. A summary of the actual vote in the 942 towns is given as follows: For no sales whatever, 263; for sales by pharmacists only, 34; for sales by hotels only, 105; for sales by pharmacists and hotels only, 117; for sales under all four provisions, 359. The balance, 64 towns, is divided variously upon the different questions.

The question has been raised whether under the new law, which seems to have resulted in a diminution of the number of drinking places, there has not been an increased amount of drinking and drunkenness. The records of the office of the secretary of state furnish very meagre statistics upon this point, and the commissioner has found it impossible to obtain any reliable statistics of the kind going back any length of time, because prior to 1895 very few local magistrates kept any permanent or complete records. According to the law of May 23, 1895, the justices of the peace are required to keep a justices' criminal docket, which is open to public inspection. During the month of October, 1897, special agents of the Department of State Excise examined this docket and reported the number of arrests recorded upon charges of "drunk," "drunk and disorderly," "intoxication" and "public intoxication," all being tabulated under the one head for the years 1895, 1896 and 1897, up to and including September 30.

Of course these figures are not absolutely satisfactory indices of local conditions because different localities enforce the statutes against drunkenness and kindred crimes with varying rigor and on diverse theories. The commissioner states that "in some instances the docket records show a tendency on the part of officials to conceal real causes of arrest. Some justices never convict and others always do when warranted by evidence. In some localities drunkenness is hardly considered a crime of which official cognizance should be taken. In others, apparently little heed has been given to the statute requiring the criminal docket to be kept." This investiga-

tion, furthermore, gives the results only of incorporated villages or cities where there are police officials. It may be said, however, that there are apt to be few of the justices of the peace in the towns who have any criminal cases of this character. The figures as collated in this manner show arrests for drunkenness in 1895 to have been 81,893; in 1896, 78,095; in 1897, up to September 30, 59,204. In the forty-one cities of the state the corresponding figures were 72,660; 69,883; 52,689; and, in the 424 incorporated villages, 9,233; 8,212; 6,515, respectively.

Organized Charity in Washington, D. C.—Constant progress is being made in the matter of the general charities of the District. Two years ago the associated charities was re-organized on the principles of the charity organization societies in Boston, New York, Baltimore, etc., and became an organization of administration; last year, upon request by this society, a citizens' central relief committee was appointed by the commissioners of the District, that there might be a source of relief for miscellaneous cases applying to the associated charities, and for whom no other resource could be found; this year the commissioners have decided that the Police Department shall discontinue the distribution of relief. Before coming to this decision a conference was held with a number of the leading citizens, who strongly advocated the separation of relief-giving from the police. The money—\$1,000 or \$2,000—which formerly was given to the police to distribute, and which is the interest on surplus money contributed to two inaugural funds by citizens of the District, and is therefore not public money raised by taxation, will be given to the citizens' central relief committee. These two citizens' organizations, together with the public office of superintendent of charities, the incumbent of which has general supervision as a public official over all institutions receiving public revenues, form the basis of a clear, distinct and comprehensive general system of charities.

The Federation of Churches and Christian Workers in New York City.—This organization was formed in 1895. It aims: (1) at undenominational co-operation in accumulating data to direct the extension of the Kingdom of God in New York City; (2) undenominational community in the knowledge acquired; (3) the improvement of the denominational care of the city; (4) the improvement of the service rendered to the districts investigated by the churches and charities within them by the formation of auxiliaries locally administered; (5) undenominational expression of opinion and action; (6) the inauguration of such other work as cannot better be done by some agency other than the Federation.

In 1896 seven churches united in making a house-to-house canvass of Assembly District No. 15 in New York city, which contains a population of 40,000 persons. The district lies between Forty-third and Fifty-third streets and runs irregularly from Eighth avenue to the Hudson river. Rev. Walter Laidlaw was engaged by the Federation to draw up the schedules, superintend the staff of enumerators, and prepare a full report based on the returns. That report, published over a year ago, contains a very detailed statement of the social conditions in that district. The statistics are ingeniously illustrated by diagrams and charts, and the results have been utilized in very materially increasing the efficiency of a number of agencies for social reform working in that section of the city. It is announced that eight churches are making a house-to-house investigation of Assembly District No. 17 and that they have divided it among them as permanent special parishes.

The second report recently issued, however, deals with the Nineteenth Assembly District. It is a tenement-house section lying between Sixtieth and Sixty-eighth streets and between Columbus avenue and the Hudson river, and containing a population of 19,717 persons. The report covers statistics on: (1) Family, Age and Sex; (2) Public and Sunday Schools; (3) Churches and Denominations; (4) Housing and Overcrowding; (5) Economics. This work was also conducted by Rev. Walter Laidlaw under the direction of an Investigation Committee composed of Robert Graham, Chairman; C. Loring Brace, Edward T. Devine, Ph. D., Homer Folks, Professor Franklin H. Giddings, E. R. L. Gould, Ph. D., R. R. McBurney, Professor Richmond Mayo-Smith, Jacob A. Riis, Rev. Josiah Strong, D. D., William Howe Tolman, Ph. D., and Spencer Trask, Ex-officio.

The whole report covers one hundred and sixteen pages, including a large number of texts devoted to a discussion of the tables of statistics and diagrams. The material is divided into several chapters:

- I. Family Statistics of the Tenement House Regions of the Nineteenth District.
- II. Age and Sex Classification.
- III. Public School Statistics.
- IV. Sunday School Statistics.
- V. Religious Statistics.
- VI. Denominational Statistics.
- VII. Housing Statistics.
- VIII. Economic Statistics, which is chiefly a discussion of wages.
- IX. Environment for Good and Evil and Organization for Social Evolution.

These reports should serve as models for the dissemination of similar information by churches and philanthropic bodies in connection with work in all our large cities. Without such information this work is apt to prove aimless and wholly inefficient; but with intelligent use of such material as is presented in this report, the usefulness of social reform efforts might easily be increased many fold.

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- Brown, John, *Parasitic Wealth or Money Reform*. Chicago: Kerr. \$1.00.
- Chance, W., *Children Under the Poor Law, Their Education, Training and After-Care*. London: Sonnenschein. 7s. 6d.
- Channing, Edward, *Students' History of the United States*. Macmillan. \$1.40.
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- Crooker, J. H., *The Growth of Christianity*. Chicago: Western Unitarian Sunday-School Society.
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- Douglass, Wm., *A Discourse Concerning the Currencies of the British Plantations in America*. (Economic Studies, Vol. II., No. 5.) Macmillan. \$0.50.
- Eckert, C., *Der Fronbote im Mittelalter*. Inaugural Dissertation zur Erlangung der Juristischen Doktorwürde der Hohen Juristischen Fakultät zu Giessen.
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- Haight, W. C., *The Blinding Effect of the Ordinance of 1787*. Michigan Political Science Association. \$0.50.
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- Hammond, M. B., *The Cotton Industry*. (American Economic Association Publications, New Series, No. 1.) Macmillan. \$1.50.
- Handbook of Canada. (British Association for the Advancement of Science.—Toronto Meeting, 1897.)
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- Hazen, C. D., *Contemporary American Opinion of the French Revolution*. Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science. \$2.00.

- Heitz, E., *Neue Grundsätze der Volkswirtschaftslehre*. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer. 4m.
- Heyer, G., *Die Standesherrn des Grossherzogtums Hessen und ihre Rechtsverhältnisse in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Universität zu Giessen.
- Hucke, J., *Die Geld-Verrichtungen in der Preis-, Lohn- und Zinsgestaltung*. Berlin: Mitscher & Röstel. 3.20m.
- Johnston, H. P., *The Battle of Harlem Heights, September 16, 1776*. Macmillan. \$2.00.
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- Meitzen, A., *Die Flur Thalheim als Beispiel der Ortsanlage und Feldeinteilung im Siebenbürger Sachsenlande*. Hermannstadt: M. Kraft.
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MAY.

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ANNALS
OF THE
AMERICAN ACADEMY
OF
POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.

THE MUNICIPALITY AND THE GAS SUPPLY,
AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE EXPERIENCE
OF PHILADELPHIA.

The recent decision of the mayor and councils of Philadelphia to lease the gas works to a private company marks a change of policy of more than local importance. That the third largest city in the United States should decide to relinquish the control of one of its public works, after over forty years of quasi-municipal management and ten years of complete municipal ownership and operation, will naturally be construed as a confession of the inability of public authorities to administer public works successfully, or at least as an acknowledgment of the superiority of private over public management. For this reason, if for no other, the conditions under which the change has taken place deserve more than passing notice. A further element of interest presents itself in the fact that the abandonment of municipal management illustrates, with great clearness, the attitude of the population of our large cities towards municipal affairs.

The friends, as well as the opponents of the lease were generally agreed that the results of municipal management

of the gas works were not encouraging. This conclusion was reached, however, without a careful examination of the history of this municipal enterprise. It was deemed sufficient to point out one or two manifest shortcomings to settle the question. This attitude of many who were opposed to leasing, contributed greatly to strengthen the hands of the corporation bidding for the franchise.

To form a correct opinion of the success or failure of any municipal undertaking is by no means a simple operation. It involves an insight into the past and a discounting of the future; rare in any community, particularly in those in which the interest in public affairs is undeveloped. Factors of great future importance but minor present interest must be considered. A constant comparison of the relative advantages and disadvantages of public and private management must be made, and the tendencies manifested by each kept in mind.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the immediate advantages connected with the company's offer, should have proven an irresistible temptation to the people of Philadelphia. The comparatively weak active opposition encountered by the leasing proposition, is regarded by many as one of the most discouraging symptoms in our civic life. It would be difficult to justify this criticism. The interest of the population in the administration of the gas works is limited to the quality and price of the gas supplied. As regards the former, there had been just cause for complaint. Although gradually improving, the illuminating force had not risen above nineteen candle power. To ascertain the real causes of this defect required more careful study and discrimination, than are usually lavished upon public affairs, where the population is concerned with results rather than with causes. Results are tangible, and furnish the basis for an easy judgment of existing conditions; the ascertainment of causes requires careful analysis and far more time and thought than the average citizen feels can be taken from his private

affairs. It is true, that the opposition to the lease, carried on by a few public-spirited men, had begun to arouse the public to a consciousness of the fact, that motives, other than the mere desire to escape from the shortcomings of city management, should determine the granting of the franchise. This feeling was not given time to express itself. The lease was hurried through councils, discussion was systematically blocked and the ordinance was signed by the mayor without a moment's delay. Within a week of the signing of the ordinance the whole question had practically dropped from the public view.

The question first to be considered, is whether the period of municipal management was really characterized by failure. The answer to this necessitates a review of certain facts in the history of the works. By far the most important fact to be noted is that Philadelphia has had but ten years of responsible municipal management of the gas works. When the city, in 1835, first embarked upon the manufacture of illuminating gas, it was in the form of a combination of public and private ownership and management. In 1841 the city became sole owner, but the management was entrusted to a board elected by councils, which was to have full charge of the property and funds, and to act as trustees of the gas loan. No part of the profits from the works was paid into the city treasury. Soon after the creation of this body, which was known as the "Gas Trust," a conflict arose with the city councils. The trustees denied the right of councils to interfere with their management of the works. In this they were sustained by the courts, which held,* that neither councils nor any other city authority could interfere with the trust's management until the maturity and payment of all the gas bonds placed under their charge. Not until July, 1885, was it possible to free the works from this irresponsible body, for not until then did these bonds mature.

* *Western Savings Fund Co. vs. Philadelphia*, 31 Pa. State Reports, 175.

The period of responsible city management may be said to begin with the new city charter, known as the Bullitt Bill, which went into effect on the first of April, 1887. By the ordinance of April 4, 1887, councils organized the Bureau of Gas as a part of the Department of Public Works, thus placing this service under the control of an official, directly responsible to and removable by the mayor. The era of gas trust administration is of importance in judging the period of responsible city management, for it throws considerable light on the nature of the difficulties with which the city authorities have had to deal. The various investigations into the administration of the gas works, notably that of 1881, have thrown a flood of light upon the corruption, fraud and mismanagement which flourished under gas trust control. During the closing years of this irresponsible body, especially between 1875 and 1885, the plant was permitted to deteriorate; improved methods of production were ignored, mains and service pipes were allowed to rust and rot, and no attempt was made to adapt the plan of distribution to the increase in production and consumption. The works had gradually become filled and overfilled with the political subordinates and henchmen of the board. It was shown by the attorneys of the Committee of One Hundred, a body which aided the city in the prosecution of the trustees, that the superficial area of the property of the works, was not sufficient to accommodate those on the pay-rolls, even when placed shoulder to shoulder.

In 1887, the city fell heir to this mass of systematized corruption, together with a gas plant which was antiquated and dilapidated. The tests of efficiency in the public management of the works, must in fairness be restricted to the period since that date. That municipal management started out under the worst possible conditions is a fact not to be overlooked in judging of its success or failure.

The ten years between 1887 and 1897 give evidence of continuous and concerted effort to overcome the obstacles

to improvement which the period of gas trust management had accumulated. In the face of these difficulties the profits steadily increased, notwithstanding the fact that the city was no longer paying for the gas used in public lighting, as had been the case prior to 1887. In 1894, the price of gas was reduced from \$1.50 to \$1.00 per thousand cubic feet, which caused a sudden decline in gross profits. That the amount consumed in public lighting was by no means insignificant is shown by the following table:

Year.	Amount of Gas Consumed in Public Lighting, <i>i. e.</i> , Gas unpaid for.	Value at Current Price.	Value at Estimated Cost of Production and Distribution.
1887	506,499,881	\$759,749.82	\$683,774.84
1888	536,158,081	804,237.12	723,813.41
1889	521,401,101	782,101.65	702,891.49
1890	551,459,572	827,189.36	744,470.42
1891	587,398,328	881,097.49	792,987.44
1892	594,203,605	891,305.41	793,174.87
1893	602,392,714	903,589.17	813,230.25
1894	623,313,751	623,313.75	488,651.00
1895	638,494,005	638,494.01	480,795.20
1896	674,031,512	674,031.51	539,225.21

Furthermore, the relative amount expended for salaries and wages, was being gradually reduced by the city authorities. Thus, in 1870, in the manufacture of 1,240,485,000 cubic feet of gas \$941,740.40 was expended in salaries and wages, in other words, nearly seventy-six cents per thousand feet. By 1890 the amount had been reduced to twenty-seven cents per thousand, and in 1896 to twenty-two cents.

An examination of the reports during this period give unmistakable evidence of improvement in organization and business-like administration, within the comparatively narrow limits in which such improvement was possible. We are here brought face to face with the real source of weakness in the municipal management of the gas-works, *viz.*, the policy of councils. In this respect, Philadelphia furnishes a striking instance of a governmental weakness

characteristic of American cities. The universal experience has been, that if local representative bodies are permitted to direct the details of administrative policy, unbusiness-like methods are sure to result. With each new city charter, we find the power of councils further restricted until, in cities like the Greater New York, the local assembly is reduced to an insignificant position in the city government. In Philadelphia, the local assembly still retains complete control over the city's finances, which enables it to interfere in the details of departmental administration. If, under these circumstances, councils allows itself to be guided by the recommendations of the technically trained heads of departments—where such exist—there is still a possibility of business-like management. Otherwise, two powerful influences are sure to assert themselves: first, the desire to reduce the rate of taxation, regardless of the needs of municipal industrial enterprises; secondly, the temptation to use the control over public works for political purposes. Both of these influences showed themselves during the ten years of municipal management, although the latter was by no means as strong as during the gas trust administration. It is generally supposed, however, that the attempt to use the works for political purposes, *i. e.*, to have friends of councilmen placed upon the pay-roll, was the most serious obstacle to efficiency. As a matter of fact, this was a small evil compared with the short-sighted financial policy of councils. As we shall have occasion to see later on, the amount expended in wages and salaries was excessive. But while this evil was gradually being remedied, the financial policy of councils gave but little evidence of improvement. The most elementary business principles were disregarded. In every well-managed manufacturing enterprise, it is the custom to charge a certain amount each year to depreciation. This involves the expenditure of a certain percentage of gross profits to prevent actual deterioration. In any well-ordered account this constitutes a fixed charge

Year.	Gross Profits.	Expenditure for Permanent Improvement on Works.	Expenditure for Extensions.		Excess of Profits used for other City Purposes.	Excess of Extensions and Improvements over Profits.
			New Mains.	Service Pipes.		
1887 . . .	\$ 684,356 90	\$ 93,175 00	\$ 85,021 82	\$ 81,322 07	\$ 424,838 01	. . . . .
1888 . . .	781,012 80	128,568 32	163,576 36	91,059 71	397,808 41	. . . . .
1889 . . .	1,240,403 15	276,386 39	140,848 59	96,779 68	726,388 49	. . . . .
1890 . . .	1,331,019 41	136,642 17	258,150 63	105,580 70	830,645 91	. . . . .
1891 . . .	1,441,308 61	91,550 68	256,121 30	100,675 83	992,960 80	. . . . .
1892 . . .	1,425,789 12	133,629 00	149,305 34	100,932 40	1,041,922 38	. . . . .
1893 . . .	1,459,069 37	202,243 47	111,608 51	107,575 03	1,037,642 36	. . . . .
1894 . . .	192,310 81*	324,616 12	102,364 97	118,905 52	. . . . .	\$353,575 80
1895 . . .	284,589 56	3,100 00	115,773 03	113,873 11	51,843 42	. . . . .
1896 . . .	352,988 80	242,309 53	80,637 88	117,981 87	. . . . .	87,940 48
Totals . .	\$9,192,848 53	\$1,632,220 68	\$1,463,408 43	\$1,034,685 92	\$5,504,049 78	\$441,516 28

During the decade 1887-97 the excess of gross profits over expenditures for improvements and extensions was \$5,010,890.08.

* Price reduced from \$1.50 to \$1.00.

to be met before gross, not to speak of net profits can be said to exist. In the case of the Philadelphia gas works, however, gross profits have been used to diminish the tax rate, rather than maintain the works at a given standard of efficiency. Between 1887 and 1897 nearly eight million dollars would have been available for the improvement of the plant. Hardly a sixth was used for this purpose. Year after year, the Director of Public Works urged upon councils the necessity of improved methods of production and distribution. With equal regularity, councils continued to use the profits from gas-making to defray general city expenses. The accompanying table on page 7 clearly illustrates this financial policy. The inevitable consequences of such business methods soon made themselves felt both in the manufacturing and in the distributing departments. The former showed an unusually high cost of production; the latter an inordinately high percentage of leakage. While the estimates of the cost of production, exclusive of the cost of distribution, differ somewhat, it is certain that it was not below forty-five cents per thousand, and probably nearer fifty. It was comparatively easy for private companies to offer gas to the city at a price far below this figure. The great improvements in the production of water gas have led the large companies in most cities to abandon the production of coal gas, or at all events to make water gas the most important part of the total output. A mixture of coal and water gas gives the most satisfactory results. The cost of production of the latter is comparatively low, owing mainly to the relatively low expenditure for labor. Instead of developing this more profitable part of the gas industry the city entered into contracts with the Philadelphia Gas Improvement Company to furnish water gas at thirty-seven cents per thousand cubic feet. These purchases, small at first, gradually increased until, in 1896, over 38 per cent of total gas used was purchased from the company. The purchases for each year have been as follows:

	Coal Gas Manufactured, Cubic feet.	Water Gas, Cubic feet.	Amount Expended for Water Gas.
1889	1,310,869,000	919,640,000	\$299,985 64
1890	2,042,059,000	1,134,922,000	425,283 75
1891	2,065,444,000	1,326,443,000	490,784 08
1892	2,233,238,000	1,351,351,000	500,000 00
1893	2,261,550,000	1,541,756,000	570,449 96
1894	2,803,838,000	1,306,563,000	557,428 38
1895	2,538,065,000	1,699,687,000	600,000 00
1896	3,021,570,000	1,891,891,000	700,000 00

While at first thought, the purchase of gas at thirty-seven cents seems advantageous to the city, the real effect was to retard improvement. The increased consumption of each year was being met, largely through purchase of water gas from a private company, thus removing the greatest incentive to improvement. Furthermore, as was shown by expert testimony before the committee to which the question of leasing had been committed, water gas can be manufactured at twenty-five cents per thousand, which means that the city was paying to the gas company a clear profit of fifty per cent on the gas thus purchased.

Another direct result of the failure to expend a certain percentage of gross profits on improvements, is shown in the cost and conditions of distribution. The Chief of the Bureau of Gas repeatedly called the attention of councils to the fact that the gas holders were not sufficiently numerous, nor were they so distributed as to secure the best results. In order to carry the gas to great distances, it was necessary to force it through the pipes at high pressure. The resulting friction robbed it of a part of its illuminating power, caused condensation and greatly increased leakage. The evil was further aggravated by the fact that the mains had not been enlarged to accommodate the increased volume of gas. It is not surprising, therefore, that the item "*gas unaccounted for*" increased with each year, until, in 1896, it amounted to nearly one-fourth the total amount manufactured. This alone meant an annual loss of over a million dollars.

Comparison with a few well-managed city or private enterprises, for which figures are obtainable, is of interest in this connection:

	Amount of Gas Manufactured, 1896.	Leakage and Gas Unaccounted for.	Percentage.
Philadelphia . . .	4,913,461,000 *	1,132,646,138	23.9
Manchester	3,762,570,000	116,560,000	3.1
Glasgow	4,525,000,000	425,500,000	10
Boston Gas Co. . .	1,130,189,700	32,692,630	2.89
Brookline Gas Co. .	753,824,000	58,590,067	7.77
Lowell Gas Co. . .	315,073,000	20,232,700	6.42

Further evidence of the unfortunate influence of councils upon the administration of the gas works is to be found in the abnormal annual expenditure for wages and salaries. We have already seen that this constituted one of the great abuses during the period of gas trust management. Although the worst evils were remedied under responsible city control, much still remained to be done. In the first place councils had fixed a rate of wages far above the market rate. The Director of Public Works published a statement that instead of paying the 1700 laborers \$1.75 per day, he could obtain equally competent men for \$1.25. Whatever may be said in favor of "trades-union wages" in city employment, it must be remembered that this excess of fifty cents per day above the market rate involved an additional annual outlay of nearly \$275,000. The pay-roll was further increased through the addition of many laborers under the elastic account of "repairs." Comparison with the accounts of private and municipal gas works will show the drain of this item upon the resources of the Philadelphia works.

While, therefore, it is evident that the real weakness in city management lay in the policy of councils, there are distinct indications of minor evils due to the internal administration of the works. The most important of these

* Including water gas purchased from Philadelphia Gas Improvement Company.

EXPENDITURES FOR WAGES IN MUNICIPAL GAS WORKS.

WORKS.	Amount of Gas Consumed in Private and Public Lighting. Cubic feet.	Price of Gas per M. cubic feet.	Total Expenditure.	Expenditure for Coal.	Expenditure for Wages and Salaries.	Expenditure for Wages and Salaries per M. cubic feet.	Relation of Wages and Salaries to total expense. Percent.
Philadelphia (1896) . . .	3,619,427,312	\$1 00	\$2,852,103 11	\$1,049,969 29	\$1,194,191 00	\$0 32 ² / ₁₀	41.8
Glasgow (1896)	4,062,500,000	52 ¹ / ₂	2,449,553 47	1,320,300 22	622,393 00	0 15 ³ / ₁₀	25.4
Manchester ((1896) . . .	4,300,165,000	54 ¹ / ₂	2,222,903 00	1,120,058 47	473,890 00	0 11	21.3
Birmingham (1896) . . .	4,152,652,000	† 54 ¹ / ₂	2,364,238 93	1,054,862 91	463,350 00	0 11 ¹ / ₁₀	19.6

• Exclusive of \$700,000 expended in purchase of gas from private company.

† Seventy-four cents for small quantities.

relate (1) to the purchase of materials, and (2) to the receipts from residual products.

During recent years the city has been paying between \$3.11 and \$3.14 per ton for coal, whereas it is a well-established fact that responsible firms were prepared to furnish the same quality at \$2.95. For some reason, which the Chief of the Bureau of the Gas has never satisfactorily explained, the bids of the firms offering coal at \$2.95 were invariably ignored. In this one item alone, the department could have effected an annual saving of between seventy-five and one hundred thousand dollars.

The failure fully to utilize residual products affected even more unfavorably the profit and loss account. The receipts from this source have averaged, within the last few years, about 30.6 per cent of the cost of coal—the main item in the expense account. That this percentage is far below the amount which careful business management would give, is shown by comparisons with private companies in the United States and with municipal gas works in England. The report of the Massachusetts Board of Gas and Electric Light Commissioners for 1896, gives full information on this point for the companies within that state. In the larger companies the percentage of the cost of coal realized through the sale of residual products ranges from 45 to 51 per cent. The average of forty-seven companies is 43.89 per cent. In the gas works of the cities of Manchester, Glasgow and Birmingham the percentage ranges from 43 per cent in the former to 56.2 per cent in the latter. Compared with these figures, the 30.6 per cent obtained in the Philadelphia works makes but a poor showing. The real cause of the difficulty is to be found in the fact that certain persons, either councilmen or for other reasons influential in local politics, enjoyed the monopoly of purchasing residual products at prices below market rates. Here, as in so many other cases, the influence of the local assembly is at the root of the difficulty. It is to be noted, however, that the period of responsible-

municipal management gives evidence of increasing economy in the utilization of by-products as compared with the "gas trust" period. In 1870 the percentage was but 15.4; in 1875, 17; in 1880, 21.9; in 1896, 30.6 per cent.

Our analysis, thus far, tends to prove that the most serious defects connected with city management are traceable to evils inherited from a period which cannot give us a fair test of municipal efficiency. During the decade of responsible city control, we find abundant indication of improvement in every direction. That such improvement has not been more rapid is to be attributed to the short-sighted policy of councils rather than to defects in the administration of the gas department.

Before entering upon a discussion of the broader questions of public policy which are involved in the relation of the municipality to the gas supply, it will be well to consider the conditions under which the lease was effected.

Some years before the expiration of the gas trust period, combinations of capitalists began to speculate on the possibility of obtaining a monopoly of the gas supply. In 1883 the first definite offer was made;—\$10,000,000 for the plant and an exclusive franchise. During subsequent years new offers were forthcoming, which usually met with vigorous opposition in councils, as well as with the public. When in September, 1897, the mayor transmitted to councils the offer of the United Gas Improvement Company, it soon became evident from the attitude of the press, as well as the disposition of councils to stifle discussion and hasten action, that the plans of the leasing company had been carefully laid. It is not our purpose to enter into an analysis of the influences set at work by the company, as it would carry us too far afield in the discussion of corruption in local politics. It must be said, however, that whatever the nature of these forces, they were greatly aided by the attitude of a large portion of the business community. The prospect of securing gas of a better quality at a lower price, overshadowed for

the time being all other considerations. As a result, the permanent interests of the city were lost sight of. The gas works were handed over to that corporation whose proposals alone received serious consideration from councils, notwithstanding that other and more favorable offers had been made by responsible parties. In granting an exclusive privilege to this corporation the most elementary business principles were disregarded. It seems a commonplace to say that the consideration in return for a franchise should be determined on the basis of the value of the privilege. In this case, however, the only question which seemed to interest councils—and in this they were at one with the mass of the population—was whether the company was prepared to give better gas at a lower figure than the city, if so, no further conditions seemed necessary to safeguard the interests of the city. Had the terms of the lease been formulated with reference to the possibilities of profits to a company enjoying a monopoly of the gas supply, the results would have been very different. There was evidence on all sides that the population was gradually awakening to this fact; but so rapidly was the lease hurried through councils, that no opportunity was given to make such awakening effective.

The lease as finally signed gives to the company a monopoly of the gas-supply for a period of thirty years. At any time prior to July 1, 1907, the city may terminate the lease, on condition of reimbursing the company for all improvements, plus six per centum simple interest on the amounts thus expended. It is quite clear that the option thus given is one which the city will hardly be able to exercise. Taking the cost of extensions and improvements which the company has agreed to make during the first five years, the minimum price which the city will have to pay will be \$8,796,000. If similar improvements are made during the next five years of the lease the price will be over \$15,000,000. With the city debt close to the constitutional

limit, it is hardly likely that the option will be exercised. Unless exercised within the first ten years it is provided that the company shall have possession during the full term of thirty years. In return for the privilege the company agrees:

First.—To furnish gas of twenty-two candle-power at one dollar per thousand cubic feet.

Second.—To pay into the city treasury upon all gas sold prior to January 1, 1908, all sums received in excess of ninety cents per thousand cubic feet; after December 1, 1907, and prior to January 1, 1913, all sums in excess of eighty-five cents per thousand; from December 31, 1912, to January 1, 1918, all sums in excess of eighty cents per thousand, and from that time until the expiration of the lease (December 31, 1927) all sums in excess of seventy-five cents. Councils is given the power to reduce the price at the dates above mentioned to ninety, eighty-five, eighty and seventy-five cents respectively, in which case the city will receive no money rental.

Third.—To light, free of charge, all public buildings and lamps, and to provide for the lighting of three hundred additional lamps each year. All public lamps to be lighted, extinguished, cleaned and repaired at the expense of the company.

Fourth.—To expend within three years five million dollars in alterations, improvements and extensions, and at least fifteen millions for the same purpose during the thirty years of the lease.

Fifth.—At the expiration of the lease, December 31, 1927, the city is to receive the works "without charge or cost in the condition of alteration, improvement and change in which the same shall then exist, and the same shall be so maintained as to be then in first-class order and condition."

It would seem, at first glance, that these provisions assure to the city a large return for the franchise. To judge of this, however, one must enter upon an examination of the possibilities of profit which the company enjoys. It is to be noted, that if the price of gas is successively reduced from one dollar until it reaches seventy-five cents, the city will receive nothing from the company except free light for public lamps, and the plant at the expiration of the lease. With the present increasing rate of consumption for public lighting the city will soon be paying large sums into the

company's treasury. During the year 1896 the city erected 1739 additional gas lamps. With this rate of increase the city will be compelled to pay for the lighting of many thousand lamps within a few years. The contract, therefore, amounts to this: the city places the gas works in the hands of a private company for thirty years, in return for which the city is to receive a certain amount of gas for public lighting free of charge. During this period the population will be compelled to pay one dollar per thousand for ten years, eighty-five cents for five years, eighty cents for five years, and seventy-five cents for ten years. The agreement to expend fifteen million dollars in extensions and improvements cannot be regarded as a burden upon the company, as it represents nothing more than a profitable investment of capital, such as every business man would be compelled to make in order fully to utilize the opportunities of his business.

In the discussions in councils and in the public press, the price which the citizens of Philadelphia will have to pay for gas during the next thirty years has been largely lost sight of. An examination of these rates will show the great value of the franchise to the company, as well as the inadequacy of the return to the city. One of the most striking facts in the history of gas-making has been the great improvements in methods of production that have taken place during recent years. Within five years the price of gas under city management was reduced from \$1.50 to \$1.00 per thousand. There is not the slightest reason to doubt that changes of equal importance will take place in the near future. In this connection, the experience of English cities is of interest. In Glasgow the gas works came under municipal control in 1869. During the first five years of city management the price was gradually reduced from \$1.35 to \$1.14 per thousand cubic feet. With each improvement in production the price was lowered until, at present, gas of twenty-four candle power is offered at 52½ cents. Manchester began to

manufacture its own gas as early as 1807, and is now charging $54\frac{2}{5}$ cents per thousand. The same price obtains in Birmingham, where the city took over the gas supply in 1874. In almost every case, whether at home or abroad, a reduction of from $33\frac{1}{3}$ to 50 per cent has taken place during the last twenty years. Compared with these figures the price which the Philadelphia company will receive is excessive. Unless the company does it voluntarily, it will be impossible to effect a reduction of more than 25 per cent during the next thirty years. At the end of that period, viz., December 31, 1927, the price will still be 50 per cent above the *present* price in English cities.

But, it will be said, English cities are able to offer gas at a low price because of cheaper materials and the lower rate of wages. As regards the former, the price paid for coal is about 20 per cent below that paid in Philadelphia. A comparison of the rate of wages will show, that while the average wage was 30 per cent higher under municipal management in Philadelphia than in Glasgow, Birmingham, or Manchester, the difference was due largely, if not wholly, to the fact that councils had fixed the wages of employes far above the market rate. From testimony of the Director of Public Works of Philadelphia, as to the cost of labor, it is safe to say that the rate paid by the present company will not average 10 per cent above the English rate. It is to be noted, furthermore, that the Philadelphia management was paying an unusually high price for coal, which the United Gas Improvement Company will undoubtedly reduce. What is still more probable is that water gas will gradually replace coal gas, thus permitting the substitution of oil for coal; a raw material which may be obtained more cheaply in Philadelphia than in Glasgow or Birmingham.

It is clear, therefore, that there is no such great difference in the cost of production as is generally supposed. With the price of gas nearly fifty per cent lower than in

Philadelphia, the profits of municipal gas works of English cities in 1896 were as follows :

	Price of Gas per thousand cubic feet.	Gross Profit exclusive of amt. debited to deprecia- tion.	Amount paid to Sinking Fund to li- quidate gas loan.	Net Profits.
Glasgow	52 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents	\$880,692 97	\$334,753 55	\$545,939 42
Manchester . .	54 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents	555,222 26	221,293 72	333,928 54
Birmingham . .	54 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents	756,775 84	504,430 50	252,345 34

If the profits reached such figures with the price at 52 $\frac{1}{2}$ and 54 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents, it is of some interest to estimate the probable profits with gas at 90 cents per thousand,—the rate which the United Gas Improvement Company will receive from the citizens of Philadelphia until December 31, 1907.*

	Profits at 90 cts. per thousand.
Glasgow	\$2 374,098 03
Birmingham	2,143,157 42
Manchester	1,888,273 50

In this comparison our object has been to arrive at some conclusion as to the possibilities of profit in a monopoly of the gas-supply, which should be the guiding principle in the granting of a franchise of this kind. We have seen that, according to the terms of the lease, the people are debarred from participating in the benefits of improved production during the next three decades. The testimony of experts before the finance committee of councils was to the effect, that it was possible at the present time to manufacture gas of twenty-two candle power at twenty-five cents per thousand, and that the cost of distribution should not exceed ten cents. The possibilities of profit at ninety or even seventy-five cents, without taking into consideration future improvements further cheapening the process, have been shown in the figures from English cities. It is beside the question to say that Philadelphia was not able

*In this calculation we have assumed the present rate of consumption.

to produce gas at this price. In determining the return for the grant of a franchise, what the city can or cannot do in performing the same service, is a question of secondary importance. The only sound basis of negotiation is the value of the franchise to the party seeking it, in other words, the possibilities of profit which the company will enjoy.

Having examined the lease as a purely business relation between the city and the company, there still remains to be considered the abandonment of this municipal function from the broader standpoint of general municipal policy. The attitude of the population to this phase of the question may be regarded as typical of our American communities and furnishes a striking instance of the lack of civic ideals in our city life. Throughout the discussions of the subject, little thought was given to the influence of such a curtailing of city functions upon the civic life of the community. Nor was the possible social function which the city might perform in the administration of the gas service considered worthy of attention. This attitude of the population accounts for the feebleness of the opposition and the boldness of councils in stifling discussion.

We have already seen, that from a purely financial point of view, the contract with the United Gas Improvement Company can hardly be said to have given due recognition to the interests of the city, nor to those of the population as consumers. Furthermore, that the ten years of municipal management, far from giving evidence of financial failure, show steady improvement in organization and management. Such shortcomings as existed were due to clearly assignable causes that might readily have been remedied. In abandoning the control of the gas-works, the valuable experience acquired during the period of municipal management has been practically thrown away. There is no easy and direct road to efficient public administration. In every department, efficiency is gradually attained through slow and laborious accretions of small improvements. When therefore,

thirty years hence, the city again comes into possession of the gas works, it will be compelled to meet difficulties equal to, if not greater, than those of the last ten years.

Furthermore, in parting with the gas works the city deprives itself of the power of performing an important social service. Until recently, financial considerations have ruled supreme in determining the sphere of municipal activity beyond the minimum of protection to life and property. We are beginning to see that social standards should be given some weight in municipal policy. The many points at which municipal activity touches our industrial and social life gives it a far-reaching influence in elevating or degrading this life. In the relation of the gas-supply to the standard of life and the industrial efficiency of the population we have a most conspicuous instance of the influence the municipality can exert. Here again, we must turn to the English cities for enlightenment.

That the use of gas is playing an important part in the economy of modern life requires no demonstration. Neither will any one doubt that it is destined to play an increasingly important part for some years to come.

At the time the gas works were placed under municipal control in Glasgow, and the same statement applies to the other cities of Great Britain, the use of gas was limited to the well-to-do classes. After careful study and inquiry, the municipal authorities came to the conclusion that to introduce its use for cooking and illuminating purposes by the working classes, particularly in the thickly settled tenement districts, would work radical changes in their mode of life. The wastefulness of the coal stove and the comparatively high cost of its maintenance, had given to uncooked foods an important place in the standard of life of these classes, a fact that seriously affected their industrial efficiency and physical vigor. The widespread use of alcoholic liquors was largely to be explained by the crude diet of the poorer classes. It was evident that the introduction of a new

element into the standard of life could only be effected by the city through a temporary subordination of financial considerations. In order to facilitate the use of gas for illuminating purposes, automatic penny-in-the-slot meters were introduced. For two cents a large burner could be supplied for a period of five hours. Furthermore, the city inaugurated the policy of renting gas stoves, making all connections free of charge. At first, the use of automatic meters was small, but with each year the number has increased until at the present time we find over thirteen thousand in use in Manchester. With each year the number of gas stoves rented by the city is increasing. In 1896 Glasgow rented 12,762 and Manchester 9403.

The influence of this more general use of gas upon the standard of life is strongly evident to anyone examining the standard of life of the working classes in the English cities. The use of cooked foods is far more general than was the case ten years ago. That this change has had an influence upon the health and industrial efficiency of the population is attested by the testimony of health officers. Furthermore, through the low price of gas, the city has been able to exert an influence upon industrial conditions. The introduction of the gas engine to replace the steam engine has given a new lease of life to the small manufacturer.

In pursuing this policy in the gas administration, the English cities have been carrying out a general principle which pervades the management of all their quasi-public works. The municipal street railway systems are being used to effect a more equable distribution of population; the municipal water supply furnishes hydraulic power at low rates; and the municipal gas supply is contributing to the improvement of the standard of life and of the industrial efficiency of the population. The municipality, for this reason, represents a far more positive force in English city life than in the United States. That American municipalities must, in time, perform the same functions is evident

to anyone who has followed the course of municipal development in this country. To relinquish public works means simply to postpone the period when such service is to be performed.

From whatever point of view the change of policy in Philadelphia be examined, the conclusion that it marks a retrograde movement, is unavoidable. This is particularly true when it is looked at from the standpoint of civic progress. The recent history of American municipalities has shown that the inability of our city governments to maintain control over private corporations performing quasi-public functions constitutes the greatest danger to American local institutions. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that these corporations have succeeded in intrenching themselves as the real power behind the constituted authorities, in all matters affecting their interests.

We usually take for granted that the most effective means of eliminating corruption is to reduce to a minimum the functions which the municipality performs and are surprised to find that this method, in reality, increases the evil. The cause lies on the surface. With every diminution of city functions we increase the influence of irresponsible corporate bodies. The real problem before us is to eliminate such corporate influence. Until this is done, all efforts for more efficient administration are almost certain to fail of their purpose. In those very classes that should furnish leaders in our civic life, we find waging the conflict between private interest and public welfare which usually results in the triumph of the former. Attachment to the city is not sufficiently strong in American communities to withstand the temptation of private gain. The absence of city ideals makes the citizen feel that responsibility for the safeguarding of public interests rests with the constituted authorities rather than with himself. To those who have studied the growth of our large cities, the introduction of a new and powerful corporation into the public life of the community means another obstacle

to civic advance. As regards Philadelphia, the danger is increased by the fact that the monopoly of the street railway and the gas and electric light service is vested in the same combination of individuals.

At a time when the true relation between municipal activity and social progress is finding acceptance with a constantly increasing percentage of our population, it seems peculiarly unfortunate that Philadelphia should offer so discouraging an example to American cities. In England and Scotland some 168, in Germany over 335 municipalities own and operate their gas works, with an efficiency which private corporations would find difficult to equal and certainly could not surpass. Whether the cities of the United States will develop an equally efficient administration remains to be seen. Upon their ability to do so depends the future of our democratic institutions. Whatever be the steps in the process, it is certain that no single and sudden change will effect the desired end. The population must be prepared to meet temporary discouragements and to withstand the temptation to throw off the burden of public service in favor of private agencies. Until this is done, until we are able to discriminate more clearly between the temporary and permanent interests of our municipalities, the road to good city government will remain closed. Though logical deduction and *à priori* reasoning may furnish all sorts of simple remedies; the order of historical development is more complex; encountering difficulties that must be consciously met by every progressive society. Temporary expedients may postpone but cannot avoid the vital problems of governmental activity. Their successful solution soon becomes the requisite for civic advance.

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CAUSES AFFECTING RAILWAY RATES AND FARES.

The most superficial study of railroad conditions will reveal a fundamental difference between the freight and the passenger policy of railroads. There has been no more distinctive feature of modern industrial progress than the rapid decline in freight rates and the consequent vast increase in freight traffic. Each decade has seen a considerable diminution in the charges for the transportation of goods, and every technical advance, the invention of the steel rail, the construction of heavier locomotives, etc., has contributed to this result. This reduction, moreover, which has been common to practically all railroads and all countries, shows no signs of immediate cessation.

In the passenger traffic, another and a different development has taken place. The passenger fares were originally based upon the table of charges of the old stage coaches, and the maximum charges prescribed contemplated a toll for the use of the road and a separate charge for that of the new kind of vehicle. The analogy between the railroad and its predecessor in the passenger traffic was not only formal but material. The maximum fares were little below the charges on the more primitive coaches, and unlike the freight charges, they have, until recently, shown no marked tendency to decline rapidly, but have rather manifested a reluctance to depart very far from the highest rates permitted. This distinction, however, may not be carried too far. It is false to state (as has been done) that passenger fares have not been reduced at all, but it is equally certain that they have declined to a far less extent than have freight rates.

There are no limits to the evidence that could be cited in substantiation of this statement, except those set by the length of this paper, but a few examples will suffice. From 1844 to 1879, the freight rates on Prussian railways decreased

79 per cent, and the passenger fares but 19 per cent.* The following table shows the comparatively slow decline of the passenger fares:

Year.	Rate per ton-mile. Cents.	Fare per passen- ger-mile. Cents.	Rate per ton-mile in per cent of fare per passenger-mile. Per cent.
1844	5.82	1.78	327
1850	3.69	1.79	206
1860	2.84	1.65	172
1869	2.00	1.41	143
1879	1.68	1.34	126
1895†	1.44	1.10	131

Thus until recently the decline in the freight rates was considerably more rapid than that of the passenger fares. A similar decline is noticeable in France.‡

Year.	Rate per ton-mile. Cents.	Fare per passen- ger-mile. Cents.	Rate per ton-mile in per cent of fare per passenger-mile. Per cent.
1831	4.98	2.41	207
1841	3.73	2.18	171
1851	3.02	2.15	140
1855	2.38	1.84	129
1867	1.90	1.64	116
1877	1.85	1.61	115
1894	1.62	1.22	133

In the United States, the fare per passenger-mile is greater than the rate per ton-mile, but the same development is observable. The following table has been taken from the statistics in Poor's "Manual" (1897):

* These figures are taken from Ulrich, "*Das Eisenbahntarifwesen*," p. 161.

† As may be seen from the above, and from the analogous table for French roads, there has been a recent tendency for the passenger fares to decline somewhat more rapidly than hitherto, and in many cases the recent decline has been greater than that of freight rates. There is a fundamental similarity, however, in the development in all the countries cited.

‡ These figures have been calculated up to 1877 from the data furnished by de Foville, in "*La transformation des moyens de transport*."

Year.	Rate per ton-mile. Cents.	Fare per passen- ger-mile. Cents.	Rate per ton-mile in per cent of fare per passenger-mile. Per cent.
1884	1.124	2.356	48
1887	1.034	2.276	46
1890 . . . . .	.927	2.174	43
1893 . . . . .	.893	2.072	43
1896 . . . . .	.821	2.034	40

This development, moreover, has been of no recent date. In Massachusetts, where traffic conditions most nearly correspond to those of Western Europe, the development has been as follows:

Year.	Rate per ton-mile. Cents.	Fare per passen- ger-mile. Cents.	Ratio of rate to fare. Percentage.
1865	4.16	2.59	160
1871	3.11	2.51	124
1875	2.45	2.30	106
1880	1.84	2.05	90
1885	1.59	1.88	85
1890	1.45	1.82	80
1895	1.28	1.78	72

These data apply to the Boston and Albany, Boston and Maine, Fitchburg, and New York, New Haven and Hartford Railways for 1865, and for all Massachusetts roads for the remaining years.* Finally, the same phenomenon may be observed for three decades on the Pennsylvania Railroad.†

Year.	Rate per ton-mile. Cents.	Fare per passen- ger-mile. Cents.	Ratio of rate to fare. Percentage.
1865	2.715	2.748	97
1870	1.503	2.568	59
1875	1.126	2.573	44
1880 . . . . .	.918	2.222	41
1885 . . . . .	.695	1.950	36
1890 . . . . .	.655	2.077	32
1895 . . . . .	.563	1.953	29

* Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Boston, 1896.

† Forty-ninth Annual Report of the Pennsylvania Railroad. Philadelphia, 1896.

Accompanying this decrease in rates there has been a wonderful increase in the freight traffic, an increase which dwarfs by comparison the slower development of the passenger traffic. The following tables give an idea of the nature of this development in Prussia:

Year.	Freight Transportation.		Freight receipts, per mile of road.
	Number of tons transported.	Ton-miles, per mile of line.	
1844	392,251	31,071	\$1562
1850	2,255,590	66,106	2517
1860	14,788,641	170,705	5079
1869	51,252,623	368,056	7621
1879	105,114,161	439,337	7554

The development of the passenger traffic was as follows:

Year.	Number of pas- sengers carried.	Passenger-miles, per mile of road.	Passenger receipts, per mile of road.
1844	3,940,904	192,077	\$3108
1850	9,241,780	146,324	2582
1860	21,641,083	160,141	2746
1869	61,949,816	221,169	3227
1879	114,402,292	196,843	2736

The significance of this development can not be overlooked. While the number of passengers increased twenty-nine-fold from 1844 to 1879, the number of tons transported increased 268-fold within the same period; while the passenger density (the number of passenger miles per mile of road remained constant, the freight density increased fourteen-fold; while the passenger receipts per mile of line were about ten per cent lower in 1879, the freight receipts, despite the enormous decrease in rates) were almost five times as great per mile of line as they were in

1844.* The increasing preponderance of freight traffic and of freight receipts may also be seen in the case of the French railways of general interest (*d' intérêt général*), where from 1855 to 1884 the number of passengers increased 543 per cent, and the number of tons 655 per cent, while the passenger density decreased from 361,691 to 239,632, and the freight density increased from 301,155 to 364,818.† From 1884 to 1896, the number of passengers on American railroads increased 60 per cent, the tonnage transported 83 per cent, and while the freight density increased from 395,158 to 519,007, the passenger density declined from 77,565 to 72,116.‡ During the last thirty years the railroads east of Pittsburg and Erie operated by the Pennsylvania Railroad showed an increase of 937 per cent in the number of passengers, but of 2411 per cent in the number of tons carried; an increase of 208 per cent in the passenger mileage, but of 1703 per cent in the freight mileage; while despite the immense decrease in freight rates, the passenger receipts increased but 118 per cent, and the freight receipts 274 per cent.§ Innumerable examples might be cited tending to prove the truth of the statement that freight rates have diminished far more rapidly than passenger fares, and that freight traffic has increased with far greater rapidity than the passenger traffic, and in consequence, is obtaining a greater and greater preponderance in the whole traffic.

It is less with the phenomenon itself, however, than with

* From 1879 to 1896-97, however, the reduction in the passenger fares (mentioned in a former note) has caused a remarkable increase in the passenger traffic. During the last seventeen years the increase has been as follows:

	1879.	1896-97.	Per cent of increase.
Number of passengers	114,402,292	436,609,672	282
Number of tons of freight	105,114,161	167,264,316	64
Receipts per mile of road:			
From passenger traffic	\$2,736	\$4,059	48
From freight traffic	7,554	10,113	34

† See Alfred Picard, "*Traité des Chemins de fer.*" Paris, 1887. Statistical tables in Vol. iv.

‡ Computed from Poor's "Manual," 1897.

§ Computed from Pennsylvania Railroad Report.

its cause, that we are concerned, and in this paper I shall merely attempt to explain in a general way the causes that have operated to produce the discrepancy between freight rates and passenger fares, and the peculiar factors that have accentuated this discrepancy in our own country. It will be found, that while the evolution of rates that we have observed is partly attributable to a conscious policy on the side of the railroads, it is due in still greater measure to the natural conditions of railroad transportation. Before proceeding further, therefore, we must rapidly review the laws by which railway rates are regulated.

About the time of the inception of the railroad, it was generally supposed that the competition of several carriers upon a common road would effectually regulate and considerably reduce both freight rates and passenger fares. When this competitive bidding failed to take place, it was still supposed that, while rates might not be regulated for intermediate stations, the competition of the railroads at their points of intersection would assure the benefits of low rates and fares for the great bulk of the traffic.* However, even this hope proved illusory; the effect of the struggle of competing railways for the same traffic was not permanently to cheapen but rather to equalize the rates upon the several lines. It is one of the peculiarities of a railroad that it can better afford to take traffic at a rate, which, if universal, would ruin it absolutely, than not to take it at all, and in the virulent rate wars of earlier decades, the charges often fell even below this point. A second peculiarity of a railroad is that it never knows when it is beaten. To it a bankruptcy means at the most a mere change of management, and an enhancement, rather than a diminution, of its power to injure a rival. By competition the railroads certainly injure each other, but as the damage to the second

*The classical presentation and criticism of the successive theories of the competition of railways are to be found in Sax's admirable treatise "*Die Verkehrsmittel in Volks- und Staatswirtschaft*." Vienna, 1878.

road does not usually place it *hors de combat*, such mutually inflicted injuries bring no corresponding benefit. By dint of hard experience, therefore, the railways have discerned the wisdom of a more peaceful policy. In some instances, hitherto competing roads amalgamate, or enter into a traffic arrangement, by which either the traffic itself or the receipts therefrom are divided; in other cases, a definite, common rate is made, which sets a limit to the competition. In the latter cases, the competition may become one of service, or oftener still, simply one of comparative outlay on advertising, and soliciting agents, a regrettable tendency to be observed in many fields of economic life, far removed from the railways.

Had the competition of railroads among themselves succeeded in reducing freight rates, there would have been no sufficient reason why the same cause should not have led to a similar result in the case of the passenger traffic. It was not, however, the competition of neighboring railways, but rather that of railways at a distance, of canals, and of the great sea itself that set a limit to railway charges, and these influences have been far more potent in the case of the freight, than in that of the passenger traffic.

Until recently, the railroads enjoyed a practical monopoly of the bulk of the passenger traffic. Travel by train was always cheaper, safer, speedier and more comfortable than by coach, or other land conveyance, and for all longer distances the element of time played so vital a part, that walking became dearer than riding.* With the exception of urban traffic, which was largely effected by cars propelled by animal or mechanical power, the steam railway enjoyed, until the advent of the bicycle and the electric railway, a practical monopoly of the passenger business. In the

* Perhaps we fail to fully realize the amount of long-distance traveling that is effected by mere walking. In undeveloped countries, where wages are very low and fares high, the main instrument of travel may be the human leg, and Hertzka ("Das Personenporto." Vienna, 1885), assures us that until recently much of the movement of the population of Austrian villages took place in this manner.

freight traffic, however, the conditions are very different. With the great bulk of the traffic, change of place is the sole desideratum, and while water carriage is slower, it is so cheap, especially upon the sea and the navigable rivers, that it absorbs a large proportion of the traffic and affects the rates of the remainder. The story of the struggle between the railway and the canal is one of the most interesting in the domain of economic history, but what we are here especially interested in is the fall in freight rates which enabled the railroads to compete. In Germany, in France, in the United States, in all countries, in fact, where the one agent of transportation has not, as in Great Britain, fallen under the control of the other, the result has been that the canal has not only set maximum rates for the railroads (maxima far more effective than those set by legal or constitutional enactment), but has stimulated the railroads to improve their service and to economize expenses, which in their turn have rendered future reductions in rates possible.

Freight rates have also been lowered through the competition of railroads, or other transportation agents, situated hundreds or thousands of miles from each other. It is regrettable that the problem of railway competition has been studied too locally, and with insufficient emphasis upon its national and international bearings. Strictly speaking, permanent competition can exist, not between railways struggling for the same traffic, but solely between those railways which have no territory in common. Given two railways which tap a given, circumscribed wheat area in Dakota, and however bitter and fierce the struggle for patronage may temporarily be, the inevitable result is the adoption of a *modus vivendi*, which places rates upon a permanent basis. But Dakota wheat enjoys no monopoly, and the freight rates on these roads must be low enough to allow the Dakota farmer to compete with the farmers of Nebraska or Kansas. In consequence the freight charges on Kansas and Nebraska

roads will determine a maximum above which the Dakota railroads can not permanently charge. The same fact is true of foreign competition. Our wheat roads must compete not only with those of Canada, but with Indian, Russian and Argentinian railways, as well as with numerous maritime agencies all over the world.

The reality of this competition is seen by the fact that the railroad, together with its customers, may be driven out of the business and abandoned. The fact cannot be too strongly emphasized that the interest of the railroad is in general bound up with that of its district or territory, and it is equally true that in the majority of cases, the railroads realize this dependence. It is to the interest of the railroad to be guided immediately by the competition of transportation agents in other districts and other countries, and not to ruin its own district for the sake of temporary gain. The company that kills the goose that lays the golden egg is bound to feel the injurious effect of this short-sighted policy, and however difficult of demarcation may be the line between "what the traffic will bear" and what the traffic will not permanently bear, such a line undoubtedly exists.

It does not follow from what has just been said that the competition of separate districts, and in consequence of their railways, will cure or prevent all railway ills, or that it should insure the railways from all forms of governmental interference. This competition will not prevent the railway from indulging in the grossest discrimination or from effecting thereby the most revolutionary redistribution of wealth within its district, but it will at all events keep down freight rates and induce the railroads to make, if necessary, repeated concessions to the needs of their patrons. This competition, however, which varies in effectiveness with the extent of the market, is practically non-existent in the transportation of passengers. The freight charge for Dakota wheat will be affected by the wheat rates on Indian railways; the charge on cotton cloth made by New England roads will be

influenced by similar charges on certain Southern railways, and the milk rates from a Pennsylvania county to Philadelphia will vary with variations in the milk rates on another road from an adjacent county to the same city. The competition will be more effective if the market is national than if it is local, and more effective still for a world-market than for a national market. But it is a matter of supreme indifference to the railroad whether the Pennsylvanian pays a higher fare than the Rhode Islander, Virginian, or New Yorker, or a higher or lower fare than the Belgian, German, or Russian. There is no competition, and therefore the fares in one country have no necessary connection with those in another country.

We have seen that in the transportation of staples, and, in fact, of nearly all freight, the competition of railroads in districts competing for the same market tends to reduce rates. But apart from this competition, be it domestic or foreign, there are other factors which tend to a reduction of rates. It is a natural and inevitable tendency for the railroads to stimulate traffic to the utmost possible limit. This is due to the nature of the railroad. With it not only does the appetite grow with what it feeds on, but the ability to swallow and digest likewise. The cost of transporting a ton of any given freight will decrease with every additional ton transported. It costs less per ton to transport twenty million than to transport ten million tons per year, and it is by no means necessary to charge twice as much for the greater as for the smaller quantity. To carry cheaply, the railroad must carry much, and it may be good policy to obtain a large traffic and therefore low cost (to the railroad) of transportation even at the expense of reduced freight rates.

In order better to appreciate this tendency, it may be well to discuss at some length the law of costs in railroad transportation. The railroad business is essentially an industry of increasing returns, or to express the same thing differently, of decreasing costs. Not all the expenses of the railroad

increase proportionately with the traffic, and some of them are entirely unaffected by any addition thereto. Let us consider, for instance, the item of interest upon capital cost.* Before we have railroad traffic, we must have the railroad. The right of way must be purchased, or otherwise obtained, the permanent way constructed, tracks laid, workshops built, stations erected and furnished, engines and cars acquired, etc. The interest upon the sums thus invested is a fixed charge, and is not in the least affected by the amount of the receipts or the magnitude of the traffic. It is therefore evident that even though the cost of maintenance of way and equipment, of conducting transportation and of general administration, in short, even though the total operating expenses of the road should increase proportionately with every increase in the traffic, any addition to the traffic would still result in a lessening of the total cost per passenger or per ton-mile. For even though the operating expenses all kept pace with the increased traffic, and amounted, let us say, to five mills per ton per mile whether the traffic were fifty or one hundred million ton-miles, it would nevertheless be a gain to the railroad to have its fixed interest charges spread over the receipts of the larger rather than over those of the smaller traffic. But the operating expenses, themselves,

*In American reports, we have two items specified: fixed charges and interest on capital. The first of these represents the interest on all debts and outstanding liabilities, whatsoever; the second the interest on the share capital. The reports seem to classify the first as a cost and the second as a profit, and from the standpoint of the shareholders this is undoubtedly correct. In point of fact, however, both bonds and stock represent the capital of the railroad, and the returns on both, the interest upon that capital. In my use of the word interest on capital cost, therefore, I refer neither to the first nor to the second item exclusively, and in fact to their sum only in so far as it represents the *actual* expenditure in constructing and equipping the road. The owners of the road usually consider the interest upon their investment as a profit, and as the sum once invested can not be withdrawn, and as the railroad can maintain itself without paying a cent upon this capital, the interest thus paid has at first sight the appearance of a surplus or profit. If, however, the return upon the capital invested falls below the current rate of interest, the investment is considered a poor or unprofitable one, and from the standpoint of the community, the interest at the current rate upon the total cost of constructing and equipping the road should be considered as a cost, which must be met just as the cost of fuel or of labor must be defrayed.

do not increase proportionately with the traffic. To double the traffic by no means signifies a doubling of the cost of maintenance of way; the number of trackmen is not increased in proportion, the cost of repairing bridges and culverts is hardly increased and the additional wear and tear upon rails and ties is scarcely appreciable. It does not require twice as many clerks in the general office to check twice the traffic, and the cost of administration increases indeed, but increases far less rapidly than does the traffic. Even the cost of "conducting transportation" decreases proportionately with an increase of the traffic. This decrease is perhaps not so marked as in the other items of expenses, and depends largely upon whether the increased traffic admits of an improved utilization of motive power and of rolling material, but even here, the total cost increases considerably more slowly than the traffic.

Without entering into a more detailed account of the effect of an increased traffic upon operating expenses, it may be said that there are some items of expenditure which increase proportionately, some that increase less than proportionately and others that are totally unaffected by an increase of the traffic. While there are peculiar circumstances, therefore, where an addition to the traffic might necessitate a more than proportional increase of the expense (as where a second track would have to be laid, or night service introduced), the almost universal rule is that with every increase in the traffic, there will be a corresponding, though not proportional, decrease of the cost per unit of traffic. Numerous calculations have been made tending to show the proportion that the increase of the cost bears to the increase of the traffic, or, the proportion of constant to variable costs in the operating expenses. It is not necessary to compare here the varying results of such investigations, especially as these results must inevitably be affected by the existing density of the traffic and by local conditions, but it may be noted that according to a somewhat general working hypothesis, it is

assumed that half of the total cost of railroading is made up of fixed charges on capital, and of the operating expenses one-half are fixed and one-half are variable. In other words only one-fourth of the cost to the railroad of operating its traffic and of paying the usual rate of interest upon its capital cost, only one-fourth of this total cost, below which the receipts dare not fall if the road is to be profitable, increases proportionately with an increase in the traffic. If we assume (and in the absence of exact figures it can be only an assumption)* that but 25 per cent of the total expenses of the railroad will increase with an increase of traffic, we can obtain some conception of the force that stimulates the railroads to seek new traffic even at the cost of a diminution in the rates.

Let us assume for example, that upon a given railroad, a traffic of 300,000 tons per mile of road can be handled at a rate of 10 mills per ton per mile, so as to cover operating expenses of 5 mills per ton-mile, and to leave 5 mills to give the usual rate of interest (let us say 4 per cent) upon the actual capital invested. If then on our hypothesis the traffic were doubled, each ton could be profitably moved a mile for $6\frac{1}{4}$ mills, since the operating expenses would decline to $3\frac{3}{4}$ mills ($\frac{5 \text{ mills} + 50\%}{1. + 100\%}$ or $\frac{7.5 \text{ mills}}{2}$) while the cost per ton-mile required to meet the interests or capital would be reduced to $2\frac{1}{2}$ mills ($\frac{5 \text{ mills}}{2}$). The following table shows the rate at which the continually increasing traffic could, on our hypothesis, be handled with a constant profit of 4 per cent upon the capital:

*It is deeply to be regretted that no calculations have been made upon fixed and variable costs on American roads, such as Nördling, Launhardt and a host of others have computed for German, French and Austrian railroads. Such a calculation for a typical eastern road, like the Pennsylvania, would be invaluable.

Freight Density.* Tons.	Charge per ton- mile required to cover operating expenses. Mills.	Charge per ton- mile required to pay 4 per cent upon capital. Mills.	Rate at which freight could be handled at 4 per cent profit. Mills.
300,000	5.00	5.00	10.00
600,000	3.75	2.50	6.25
900,000	3.33	1.67	5.00
1,200,000	3.13	1.25	4.38
1,500,000	3.00	1.00	4.00
1,800,000	2.92	0.83	3.75
2,100,000	2.86	0.72	3.58
2,400,000	2.81	0.63	3.44
2,700,000	2.78	0.56	3.33
3,000,000	2.75	0.50	3.25

It is naturally to the interest of the railroad to increase its net receipts as much as possible, and an increase or decrease of traffic is thus immaterial, provided the net receipts remain uniform. It is a matter of indifference to the railroad, in the above table, whether it carries 300,000 tons at 10 mills, 600,000 at 6.25 mills, or 1,200,000 at 4.16 mills, since, while the gross receipts increase, the net receipts remain constant. If, however, the railroad could obtain 600,000 tons at 6.75 mills or even 6.50 mills (instead of 6.25 mills), it would be to its advantage to reduce its rates from 10 mills to that point in order to obtain the increased traffic and increased net receipts.

What is it, then, that puts a limit to the continued decrease of rates and to the corresponding increase of traffic, and where do these limits appear in the freight, and where in the passenger, traffic? In answer, it may be said that the railroad traffic of any district is limited, in the first place, by the productivity of that district. However low the rates, no more coal can be carried from the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania than can be obtained from their mines, and no more wheat from the West than can be grown in that

* Freight density is a term applied to the result obtained by dividing ton-mileage by mileage of line. It thus represents the average amount of freight carried over the whole road. For the sake of simplicity we have considered freight instead of traffic density, which would have included both freight and passenger density.

district, and while the freight traffic consists also of what is imported into the district, the necessary balance between exports and imports will render them both dependent upon the productivity of the region. It is perfectly evident, therefore, that a traffic which is possible in one district is quite unattainable in another, and that a rate may be reasonable or even high in one part and ruinously low in another part of the same country.

There are, moreover, other checks to the indefinite growth of the traffic. The indefinite expansion of railway traffic would readily bring it to a point where the hypothesis that we have made would no longer cover the facts. In every railroad there is a point of maximum intensity, beyond which traffic cannot increase without an increased expenditure of capital upon the road. The maximum density of traffic of a single-track road is attained when the increase of traffic necessitates the laying of a second track, or the construction of enlarged stations, or the acquisition of other facilities. There is, of course, no *absolute* maximum of intensity, since theoretically, at least, the railroad can increase its capacity for traffic indefinitely, but for any given expenditure of capital upon a road there is a maximum of traffic, of which the road is capable, and when this maximum is reached, a further increase of business can be dispatched, only after increasing the capital, and therefore the interest charges upon the road. But the increased charges thus occasioned; while they do not stop, have at least the effect of slackening, the decline in the cost of handling additional quantities of freight or additional numbers of passengers.

Finally, a third influence, which lays an effective check upon the indefinite expansion of the traffic, is the continual diminution of the incentive to an increased use of the railroad. As the larger the traffic, the lower the cost of handling it, so the lower the charges, the larger the traffic; to reduce freight rates means to increase freight traffic; to reduce fares, to increase passenger traffic; and the corollary

to this is, that the greater the reduction the greater the increase, and the smaller the reduction the smaller the increase in traffic. In the case above mentioned it would pay the railroads to reduce their freight rates as much as $3\frac{3}{4}$ mills (from 10 to $6\frac{1}{4}$ mills), if, as is quite possible, this immense reduction would lead to an increase of from 300,000 to 600,000 tons, to an offering, in other words, of an additional 300,000 tons for transportation. But to secure still another 300,000 tons (from 600,000 to 900,000 tons), the railroad could afford to make a reduction no longer of 3.75 mills, but merely of a fraction over one mill ($1\frac{1}{4}$ mills, $6\frac{1}{4}-5$), and after a certain low rate had been reached, any further reduction of rates would not succeed in attracting the amount of additional traffic, that alone could render it profitable. At this point, it would be a mistaken policy further to reduce rates.

The comparative cheapness of passenger and of freight rates will thus depend, in no small measure, upon which of the two the point is sooner reached, where the traffic will fail to respond sufficiently to a reduction in rates to render such reduction profitable. This capacity for stimulation will naturally vary with differences in the density of traffic, the smallness of existing rates, etc., and will be dependent upon a mass of local and particular conditions, but there will nevertheless be found a fundamental difference underlying the susceptibility of freight and that of passenger traffic to such stimulation.

We have not here to deal with the question whether men or commodities possess the greater mobility. The comparison of the mobility of self-directing objects with that of inanimate objects not possessing that power is one that may be suspected of barrenness. It must be admitted, however, that the mobility of commodities, of freight in short, is affected to a far greater degree by variations in the cost of carriage than is that of persons. Business is a matter of calculation and not of sentiment, and it is dollars and cents alone that determine whether wheat shall be sent to

Liverpool or held in Chicago. But a turn of a coin by no means determines whether an individual shall travel from New York to Boston or to Philadelphia. In the case of the freight shipment, the question is simply whether or not the value of the wheat on its arrival at Liverpool will exceed its value at Chicago by more than the amount of the freight, and in such a case a penny turns the scale. The amount of the railway fare, however, is but one of many items, and sometimes but an inconsiderable factor in determining whether a trip shall be taken, just as the cost of the stamp is not always the main consideration in deciding whether or not a letter shall be written. Against the anticipated pleasure, profit or benefit of the railway journey, the prospective traveler weighs not only the cost of the ticket, but also the loss of time, the discomfort (if not the danger) of traveling, the pecuniary or other loss involved in an absence from home, the cost of living in another place, etc. The greater the number and the stronger the influence of these motives, the smaller will be the influence of fares, the less effect will a reduction of passenger fares have upon the amount of the passenger traffic, and the higher will be the rate, below which a reduction in fares will cease to attract a sufficiently increased traffic to render it profitable to the railroad.* For this reason, however, the freight traffic, in which no other motives operate and in which the transportation charges exert a preponderating influence, will respond more fully and much longer to rate reductions, than will the passenger traffic.

* It is obvious that, in some forms of passenger traffic, the cost of the ticket is of relatively more importance than in other branches of the business, and, it seems to me, that the reduction of fares for round trips must be justified on this ground. There seems no reason at first glance why one should pay more for a trip of two hundred miles than for the two trips of one hundred miles each, or why it should cost less, if the traveler returns within three days instead of within three weeks. The short time limit evidently allows a somewhat better use of the cars (as the time of return may be better calculated), but the chief justification of the reduction for short-time return tickets seems to be in the fact that in this traffic the railway fare makes up a large part of the total expense, and the traffic is therefore more amenable to stimulation through reductions in fares.

It has been assumed in the foregoing that the railways will always be in a position to appreciate their interests and to realize them, and that a reduction of rates will inevitably take place, whenever it is warranted by the economic conditions. The hypothesis assumes the influence of railway rates upon the volume of traffic, and that of volume of traffic upon cost of operation to be readily determinable and that the railways will be sufficiently guided by an enlightened self-interest to gladly lower rates. In actual practice, however, the trend of charges to a low, but profitable level, is less certain and far less direct than has been assumed, and in this fact is to be found still another cause for the prevalence of high passenger fares.

In practice, rate reductions are usually made not as a part of a desirable policy but as an unavoidable exception to such a policy; they are regarded as special, not general; as concessions or favors, not as profitable ventures. A diminution of freight rates is usually made not permanently and along the whole line, but in the form of a series of reductions, justified by peculiar conditions of time or place, of character or amount of shipment, and in the course of time a schedule of rates thus tends to become a series of exceptions to a general, but obsolete tariff. Reductions, arising thus less from the will and at the instance of the railroads than from the pressure of their patrons, will naturally be more common in the freight than in the passenger traffic, since the pressure that the shippers of freight can bring to bear upon the railroad is far greater than that which any combination of passengers is likely to exert. The magnitude of the freight operations of a single firm may enable it to obtain especially favorable terms. In freight transportation the interests involved are sufficiently large to reward the intelligent consideration and study of the shipper or manufacturer, and in a question which may be a matter of economic life or death to him, the consignor of freight is not apt to be over-nice in the use of any means that may influence the

determination. This influence, moreover, is greatly intensified in the case of large associations of shippers or manufacturers, especially where the organization, which represents the common interests of its members, is sufficiently rich and powerful to dictate rates. Even where the competition of district with district does not reduce railroad rates to a point incompatible with profit, an aggregation of shippers may not infrequently bring down rates to the same or to a still lower level. The history of the Standard Oil Company affords an instance of the power even of a single company to obtain the same result.

The passenger, however, can impose no such conditions upon the railroad. The great number of separate agreements or purchases (of tickets) into which the passenger traffic is divided, robs any single transaction of great importance. Compared to the freight traffic, the passenger business presents a series of small purchases,* and the traveler finds himself in a position analogous to the buyer from a retail store, where the smallness of the outlay and the inertia of the purchaser tend to produce a monopoly price. The passenger suffers the added disadvantage of being obliged to buy his transportation at once. A trip which may be worth five times the amount of the fare to-day will be useless, and worthless, to-morrow or next week, and the prospective traveler is thus situated similarly to the workman, who must sell his labor immediately, or not at all. Unlike the latter, moreover, the passenger who regards traveling merely as an incidental activity is usually unable or unwilling to combine, and the great unorganized mass of travelers is capable of presenting but little resistance to an increase, and still less pressure upon the railroads for a reduction, of the

*The average fare paid upon American railroads is only 49.6 cents per trip (1896); on British (1894), 14.9 cents; on German (1894-95), 16.8 cents; on Belgian (State, 1896), 19.9 cents, and on French railways (1894), 22.1 cents, etc. This fare is somewhat lower, however, than the average amount of all payments for passenger transportation, since return tickets are counted as two trips, although paid for at once, and season-tickets are treated similarly.

fares. In countries where the railways are owned, or their policy controlled by the state, the passenger may accomplish by political activity what he is unable to effect as an economic agent. Thus, for example, the passenger reform in France on April 1, 1892, affords an instance of a scaling down of fares at the instance of the government, which would not have been remunerative or judicious under other circumstances. The school fare (including the passenger duty) declined 21 per cent from 1890 to 1895, and as the amount of travel increased only 34 per cent, the gross passenger receipts increased only one per cent ($1.34 \times .79 = 1.06$), and the net passenger receipts actually declined, unless, which is quite improbable, the additional traffic was handled at the rate of three mills per passenger mile. The loss involved, however, has been chiefly, if not exclusively, incurred by the state, about half of the reduction in fares being due to the remission of the additional passenger duty (*l'impôt additionel*). The sequel proved, however, that the reduction was not to the interest of the railways, and would not have been made at their cost and on their initiative. In countries, therefore, where the state either owns the railways or exerts an effective control over their tariffs, reductions in passenger fares are apt to be more frequent and more thoroughgoing.*

In view of the natural inertia of railroad charges, it is not impossible, in the absence of sufficient compelling force on the part of the travelers, that passenger fares in many places have not yet been reduced to the level, at which they would insure the railroads the maximum revenue. † The question,

*See the reductions in fares in Hungary, in Austria, in Russia, and more recently still in Denmark; see, also, former repeated reductions in Belgium and the above decline in fares on French railways.

† To those who suggest that a reduction of fares might be to the interest of the railroads themselves, is usually given the answer, that the railways are the best judges of their own interests, and are sure to do what it is to their own advantage. Even though the railways were omniscient, however, their competition with one another, or their liability to being preyed upon by outsiders (ticket-brokers, etc.), might easily prevent them from introducing reforms, or conditions might involve the pioneer of such a reform in disaster even though the reform itself were

however, is too complex, and its treatment necessarily too detailed to permit of consideration within the limits of this paper.

The actual discrepancy in the cost of hauling freight and of carrying passengers is most clearly perceived when we measure them both according to weight. If we compare the various railways of Europe and America, we will find that the railways receive from seven to thirty times as much for carrying a passenger a mile as for transporting an equal weight of freight (about 150 pounds) an equal distance. The increased charges for the transportation of passengers, however, are, at least in great part, due to the increased cost of the service. The carriage of persons is a far more complicated and far more expensive operation than is that of freight. It is undoubtedly true that in the passenger traffic, the railroads save the cost of loading and unloading, but even this economy disappears before the large number of additional expenses necessitated by the higher-classed passenger service. The demand of the traveler for safety, speed and comfort involves the railroad in many outlays. Passengers may not be piled up upon one another like bales of cloth or bundles of hay; they may not be left exposed to the wind or the rain; they dare not be left waiting for hours at stations, or upon sidings, nor may they be transported, without reference to schedule, at the convenience and good time of the railways. On the contrary, the railroads must provide a large number of costly arrangements in order that the traveler may be furnished with ordinary comforts. Spacious passenger stations must be erected on expensive sites, passenger carriages must be fitted up comfortably, if not luxuriously, a sufficient train *personnel* must be provided, ultimately beneficial. But it must not be straightway assumed that the railroad, or any body or corporation else, can always be sure of the consequences of a proposed policy. The same argument might have applied to the English postal officials, before penny postage was forced upon them by Rowland Hill. The introduction of the penny postage was not, it is true, immediately remunerative but its probable effect, as anticipated by the post-office, was far wider of the mark than were the results of Mr. Hill's calculations.

sanitary arrangements made, a costly system of signaling and safety appliances introduced, and the trains must run regularly, punctually and rapidly, whether their cars be filled or empty. When we reflect that, owing to the last consideration, the Saxon railroads are compelled to haul 14.36 tons of dead weight for every ton of human freight ($13\frac{1}{3}$ passengers), that the proportion of dead weight, in other words, is 93.49 per cent, we may obtain some idea of the additional costs involved in providing accommodations for the passenger.* The proportion of dead weight for all German railways was 93.75 per cent in 1896-97.

Without entering into a more special discussion of the additional costs in the passenger traffic, we may sum up their general tendency in the effect they have of decreasing the receipts per passenger train mile, and in increasing dead weight of trains. The statistics furnished by the Saxon reports show that the proportion of paying weight in the passenger traffic has diminished from 7.59 per cent to 6.51 per cent from 1880 to 1893, a total diminution of over 14 per cent, while from 1878 to 1895 the average weight carried per freight car axle increased from 1.657 to 2.138 metric tons. The proportion of seats occupied to seats empty is nowhere very high, ranging, as a rule, between a quarter and a fifth, the proportion being only 35.51 per cent for Russian (1894) railways, 27.71 per cent for Swiss (1894), 26.52 for Prussian (1896-97), 25.68 for Austrian, 25.29 for all German (1896-97) railways, 24.55 per cent for Belgian (State, 1895), 23.5 per cent for Danish (State, 1896-97), 21.20 for Norwegian (1895-'96), 20.59 for Swedish (State, 1895), 19.65 for Finnish (1895), and 18.97 per cent for the Imperial Alsace-Lorraine (1896-97) railways. The statistics of most of the Continental countries, moreover, show as often a decrease as an increase in the proportion of paying weight, and in the

* See "*Der Personenverkehr auf den Eisenbahnen Sachsens im Jahre. 1893.*" *Archiv für Eisenbahnwesen.* 1896. Pp. 605-13. The dead weight in the first and second class on English and Continental railways, as in our parlor and sleeping car service, is even greater.

proportion of seats occupied to those unoccupied. The effect of the improved service, and especially of increased speed, is shown, moreover, in a diminution in the number of passengers per train,* and in a decrease in the length and weight of the train itself.†

With this in mind, we may now seek to discover to what are due the great differences in the price of passenger transportation in various parts of the world. There have been many attempts made to explain these differences, and many more to deny their existence. If the claim is made that the Englishman or American pays a larger fare than the German or Belgian, the answer is immediately made that the service obtained for the higher is better than that obtained for the lower. But the first fact nevertheless remains unaltered, and stated baldly, it is this, that the German or Belgian pays less per mile of transportation than does the Englishman or American.‡

The rate of fares on Continental railways is considerably lower than on British and American lines. In 1896, the passenger on American railways paid an average of 2.019 cents for every mile that he was carried.§ In Great Britain the

* According to Poor (1897), the average number of passengers per train on American railroads (that is, passenger-miles divided by passenger train miles) declined from 42.50 in 1884 to 35.67 in 1896.

† From 1886 to 1896, the number of carriages per passenger train on the Belgian state railways declined 16 per cent (from 8.86 to 7.45); the number of cars per freight train increased over 8 per cent (16.94 to 18.36).—"Royaume de Belgique, Chemins de fer, postes, télégraphes, téléphones et marine. Compte rendu des opérations pendant l'année 1896." Brussels, 1897

‡ The usual comparisons of American and European fares do more credit to the ingenuity than to the ingenuousness of their authors. Our ordinary day coach service is compared with the first-class British or continental service, but whether the comparison is made upon the basis of an assumed equality in speed, safety, punctuality and comfort, or is due merely to the fact that both are called first-class, is conjectural. The animus of the writers has usually been to prove that we receive a greater or a smaller return for our money than do the citizens of other countries, but such a comparison can never be very exact. In the following comparison we will for the time being leave out of consideration the quality of the traffic and consider simply and solely its quantity. The fare per passenger-mile is obtained by dividing the passenger receipts by the total number of passenger-miles in all classes.

§ "Interstate Commerce Commission Report," 1896.

fares do not range much lower, and are probably not far from 2 cents per mile. The Continental fares, however, are in the main considerably lower. In Switzerland (1894) the average fare per mile was 1.54 cents, while that of the Gothard railway (1896) was a little over 2 cents (2.09). In Sweden (1895) the state railways charged 1.49 cents, and the private railways 1.54 cents, while the rate upon Norwegian (1895) roads was only 1.19 cents. In Holland (1895) the receipts per passenger-mile were 1.42 cents, in Roumania 1.33 cents, in France (1895) 1.21 cents, and in Germany (1896) 1.13 cents. The Prussian (1896) fares were particularly low, averaging 1.09 cents, as compared with 1.19 cents in Saxony (1896), and 1.27 cents in Bavaria (1895).*

There are several countries, moreover, where the average passenger fare is less, and often considerably less, than a cent per mile. The Austrian state railways received 0.96 cent per passenger mile in 1896, and but 0.91 cent in 1895; on the Hungarian railways the receipts were 0.89 cent in 1896, and 0.82 cent in 1895; the Belgian state railways received only 0.95 cent in 1895, and the Russian (1894) roads but 0.72 cent. The cheapest traffic in the world, however, is probably to be found in India. On the broad-gauge railways, the average fare in 1895 was 0.42 cent per mile, and on the meter-gauge but 0.38 cent per mile.†

*The "*Uebersichtliche Zusammenstellung der Wichtigsten Ausgaben der Deutschen Eisenbahnen-Statistik*," Berlin, 1898, gives the following rates per passenger-mile for the year 1896-97:

Railways.	Receipts per passenger-mile in cents.
Imperial Alsace-Lorraine	1.21
Prussian State	1.06
Bavarian State	1.25
Saxon State	1.18
Württemberg State	1.16
Baden State	1.21
Main-Neckar	1.09
All German railways	1.10

† These calculations have been made largely from the data furnished in the official reports, and where these were not obtainable from the excellent abstracts

It may thus be seen that the Indian travels five miles, the Russian three miles, and the Belgian, Austrian, Hungarian or Prussian two miles for the fare which we pay for one mile's travel. The discrepancy is a large one, and has been attributed to many causes. It has been supposed that the cheapness of fare will depend in the first place upon the density of population, and the cheap fares in such densely settled countries as India, Saxony and Belgium give support to the theory. Russia, Roumania and Norway, however, have lower fares than England or Switzerland, and while the density of the traffic undoubtedly does depend in large measure upon the density of population, there is no necessary connection between low fares and a thickly settled area.*

High fares are often attributed, also, to the character of the service, and there is not unusually a causal sequence between the two. Within a country or railroad system, itself, variations in fare correspond to differences in the character of the service, and the difference in comfort between a second and a fourth-class compartment of a Prussian train is certainly sufficient to allow a considerably higher fare to be charged for the one than for the other. These superior accommodations, however, offered in the higher classes do not usually involve much additional cost, and extra charges are thus made for a service which is better, indeed, but not much

of the statistical reports furnished by the *Archiv für Eisenbahnwesen*. No attempt has been made to calculate the quota of passenger receipts that might be attributable to "free" baggage, and in some cases the above fare includes one hundred and fifty pounds of free baggage, in some thirty kilograms, and in others no free baggage at all. While in some unimportant respects, therefore, the receipts are not absolutely the same item, the results are for all practical purposes sufficiently exact.

* Where there is an apparent connection between density of population and lowness of fares, as in the United States, the lowness of fares is usually traceable to density of traffic. The following table is interesting:

	Density of Population. (Census of 1890.)	Passenger Den- sity (1896.)	Rate of Fare (1896.)
New England States	76	15,254	1.84
South Atlantic States	29	997	2.15
United States	21.3	2,150	2.03

The fares and passenger density are taken from Poor's "Railroad Manual for 1897."

dearer in consequence. For example, the interest upon the original cost and the annual expenditure for wear and tear of a first-class passenger coach in Prussia would not justify an increase in the fare of a small fraction of a mill per mile over that of the third class; but while the average first-class fares are almost three times as high as those of the third class, it is probable that the high-class service is less remunerative than the lower. For every occupied seat in the third class carriage, there are three empty seats, whereas for every occupied seat in the first class carriages there are almost ten empty seats. The railroads receive, despite the great difference in the fares, only 0.34 cent per first class carriage seat per mile moved, as compared with 0.24 cent per mile for every seat in the third class carriages. The cost of carrying the first class passengers is high, not so much because the service is expensive, but because the cars are so poorly filled in consequence of the high fares. The influence of cost of service, though it has been unduly emphasized, cannot, of course, be totally disregarded, the elements of speed, frequency of trains, and station accommodations entering very largely into the consideration of cost. There is no doubt that a railroad with a very high grade of service can not reduce its fares to the level which they might attain were the service inferior or cheaper, but the question still remains whether the high grade of service causes the high fares, or conversely, the high fares produce the high grade of service. It is impossible to enter here into an historical account of the evolution of fares in England and America, but their history supports the theory that under private ownership of railways, fares tend to a monopoly price, and that the competition of railways does not tend permanently to reduce them, but merely to improve the service, and to increase the machinery for obtaining a larger bulk of the traffic. The competition of canals and waterways, the struggle of competing districts, the great mobility and susceptibility to

stimulation of freight, the large interests of the shippers and the wholesale character of the transmission of commodities all tend to reduce freight rates very rapidly, and the increasing economies in the utilization of the railroad facilities help to further this progress. These factors, however, are not so important in the case of the passenger traffic, and the tendency, therefore, is rather to maintain fares than to decrease them, and to suit the service to the fares rather than the fares to the service. The Continental countries could not pay the high fares that are charged on American roads, and a charge of even a cent a mile would be sufficiently exorbitant to debar the great majority of Indian travelers from the use of the road. There is, therefore, some truth in the theory occasionally advanced that passenger fares tend to vary with the varying ability of the average citizen in the different countries to pay them.

The previous discussion raises a series of interesting questions in regard to the future of the American passenger traffic, with which however it will be impossible to deal, save in the barest outline. The causes effecting a rapid reduction of freight charges have prevailed to a greater extent in the United States than perhaps in any other country. The excessive lowness of our freight rates has also been due to the cheap construction of our railways, the immense potentialities for traffic, the differentiation of industry within our borders and the protective policy, which while making our commerce interstate, rather than international, has localized industry to the advantage of the railroads. The long haul on American railways, due to these causes and to the extent of the country, has reduced the cost per ton-mile (by dwarfing terminal expenses), and at present freight is handled far more cheaply on American than on European roads. But the conditions above mentioned do not naturally result in a reduction of passenger fares, as of freight rates, and in fact the great distances between our centres of population, in so far as they act as a deterrent from travel, would naturally

result in high rather than in low fares. The high rate of wages and high standard of life prevailing in the United States make high passenger fares at present possible, but if our theory be correct, they do not promise lower fares in the future. If the railroads justify the higher fares of to-day by the ability of the people to pay them, why should they not justify still higher fares in the future by the increased ability of the people to pay them in the future? Why should not higher wages (if higher wages are to come in the future) be accompanied by increased passenger fares and correspondingly improved service?

It is somewhat difficult to understand how prices can rise though the cost of production fall, but as several of our economists have pointed out, there seems to be a certain tendency in this direction in retail transactions. In the passenger traffic, whether or not our present service *now* costs the railways more than the more primitive service of a half century ago cost them *then*, it is undoubtedly true that a much better service than that of the early fifties could now be reduplicated at a much lower cost than at that period. While in many parts of the country fares have decreased considerably, it seems that passenger fares in Massachusetts are actually higher to-day than they were half a century ago. The service has indeed improved very greatly during this period, but the railways have as yet resisted the demand for much lower fares, even with inferior accommodations.

While, however, the tendencies that have been active during the last few decades would not encourage us in a belief of a future lowering of passenger fares, and while this would be dearly purchased, if there were an inseparable connection between high wages and high fares, there are at present certain indications of coming reductions in our passenger charges. The demand for cheaper travel is growing stronger, and is expressing itself in more definite form, while at the same time the railways are getting in a position where fares may be reduced without a general rate war.

Moreover a new instrument has been introduced by means of which passenger traffic may be revolutionized. The application of electricity to railroads (whatever its drawbacks) allows a more complete utilization of rolling stock than is ordinarily possible with steam, and the construction of cheap electric lines, especially intended to serve short distance passenger traffic, will compel an increase of that traffic that can only be accomplished by a radical reduction of fares. Where a railway is almost entirely dependent upon its passenger traffic, it can not perhaps afford to carry passengers at the low rate at which a railroad with a lucrative freight traffic could *possibly* carry them, but the natural tendency will nevertheless be for its fares to be lower than those of the other road, since in order to exist it must have a large traffic, and the greater the number of passengers required to make a road profitable, the smaller must be the fare charged. It seems therefore quite within the bounds of probability that the electric, suburban and inter-urban railways will cause a reduction, which may react upon all other fares.

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INTERVENTION AND THE RECOGNITION OF CUBAN INDEPENDENCE.*

In a former paper written in advocacy of the recognition by the United States of Cuban belligerency, which was published in the *ANNALS* for May, 1896,† I admitted that, strictly speaking, a recognition of belligerency by the United States was "the only possible way to assist Cuba which is legally permissible." I also said that "the favorite argument in the newspapers—'because the Spaniards are cruel, therefore we ought to recognize the belligerency of the Cubans'—is not based on any principle of international law;" still less would this be an argument for the recognition of Cuban independence.

Strictly or technically speaking, I am still ready to maintain that the above statements are correct. From the strict point of view of certain well-known principles of international law, it must be conceded that a recognition of the independence of Cuba, even at the present advanced and prolonged stage of insurrection, would be premature. Premature recognition, under ordinary circumstances, is a wrong done to the parent state, and in effect amounts to an act of intervention.‡

The correct rule or principle which, in ordinary cases, should govern the recognition of the independence of an insurgent community, undoubtedly finds its clearest and

[*The present paper was sent to the press before the President's Message on the Cuban situation was laid before Congress. Whether our relations with Spain and Cuba shall have entered upon a new phase or not before the paper reaches the public it will not lose its interest as a statement of the rules governing international action. Whether the judgment of the author coincides with such action as may be taken by the government is from the scientific point of view indifferent. As a contribution to the materials for forming a judgment as to the legal and moral justification for intervention, this statement of the principles underlying such action will doubtless be welcomed by the readers of the *ANNALS*.—EDITOR.]

†Vol. vii, p. 450.

‡Hall's "International Law," pp. 89-90. All references to Hall are to the third edition.

most perfect expression in a communication addressed by Hon. John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State, to President Monroe on August 24, 1818. He says:

"There is a stage in such (revolutionary) contests when the party struggling for independence has, as I conceive, a right to demand its acknowledgment by neutral parties, and when the acknowledgment may be granted without departure from the obligations of neutrality. It is the stage when the independence is established as a matter of fact, so as to leave the chance of the opposite party to recover their dominion utterly desperate. The neutral nation must, of course, judge for itself when this period has arrived; and as the belligerent nation has the same right to judge for itself, it is very likely to judge differently from the neutral and to make it a cause or pretext for war, as Great Britain did expressly against France in our Revolution, and substantially against Holland.

"If war thus results, in point of fact, from the measure of recognizing a contested independence, the moral right or wrong of the war depends upon the justice and sincerity and prudence with which the recognizing nation took the step. I am satisfied that the cause of the South Americans, so far as it consists in the assertion of independence against Spain, is just. But the justice of a cause, however it may enlist individual feelings in its favor, is not sufficient to justify third parties in siding with it. The fact and the right combined can alone authorize a neutral to acknowledge a new and disputed sovereignty."*

Hall, in his valuable treatise on international law, justly remarks that although

"States must be allowed to judge for themselves whether a community claiming to be recognized does really possess all the necessary marks (*i. e.*, of a state), and especially whether it is likely to live," nevertheless "great caution ought to be exercised by third powers in granting recognition; and *except where reasons of policy interfere to prevent a strict attention to law*, it is seldom given unless under circumstances which set its propriety beyond the reach of cavil."†

One of the most perspicuous and fair-minded writers on international law, T. J. Lawrence, in his recent admirable work on this subject, thus states the law which in normal cases should govern the recognition of independence:

* Wharton's Digest, Vol. i, p. 121.

† Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-90. The *italics* are mine.

"The community thus recognized must, of course, possess a fixed territory, within which an organized government rules in civilized fashion, commanding the obedience of its citizens, and speaking with authority on their behalf in its dealings with other states. The act of recognition is a normal act, quite compatible with the maintenance of peaceful intercourse with the mother country, if it is not performed till the contest is either actually or virtually over in favor of the new community."

He rightly characterizes the recognition of the independence of the United States by France in 1778, "when the contest was at its height and the event exceedingly doubtful," as "an act of intervention which the parent state had a right to resent, as she did, by war." He justifies the recognition of the independence of the revolted Spanish-American colonies by Great Britain in 1824 and in succeeding years, and the recognition of Texas by the United States in 1837, on the ground that "no recognition was accorded in any case till she (the mother country) had ceased from serious efforts to restore her supremacy, though on paper she still asserted her claims."*

Dana, in an invaluable note to Wheaton on "Recognition of Independence," sums up the matter in the following language:

"Whether this final step is justifiable, depends upon the same tests: namely, the necessities of foreign states, and the truth of the fact implied, that the state treated with was, at the time, in the condition *de facto* of an independent state. . . . It is not necessary that the parent state or deposed dynasty should have ceased from all efforts to regain its power. On the other hand, it is necessary that the contest should have been virtually decided."†

We believe that the foregoing citations are among the best and most authoritative statements of the rules which, according to strict law, in ordinary cases and under normal conditions, should govern the recognition of the independence of insurgent communities or states.

*Lawrence's "Principles of International Law," pp. 87-88.

†Wheaton's "Elements of International Law" (Dana's edition), Note 16, pp. 41-42.

Most writers, however, either in so many words or by inference, admit the existence of extraordinary or exceptional cases, where, as Hall says, "*reasons of policy interfere to prevent a strict attention to law;*" or which, as Lawrence observes, "*cannot be brought within the ordinary rules of international law.*" Each case of this sort, according to Lawrence, "must be judged on its own merits." Lawrence continues:

"There is a great difference between declaring a national act to be legal, and therefore part of the order under which states have consented to live, and allowing it to be morally blameless as an exception to ordinary rules. I have no right to enter my neighbor's garden without his consent; but if I saw a child of his robbed and ill-treated in it by a tramp, I should throw ceremony to the winds and rush to the rescue without waiting for permission.*

"In the same way, a *state may, in a great emergency, set aside every day restraints;* and neither in its case nor in the corresponding case of the individual will blame be incurred. But, nevertheless, the ordinary rule is good for ordinary cases, which, after all, make up at least ninety-nine hundredths of life. To say that it is no rule because it may laudably be ignored once or twice in a generation, is to overturn order in an attempt to exalt virtue. An intervention to put a stop to barbarous and abominable cruelty is a '*high act of policy above and beyond the domain of law.*' It is destitute of technical legality, but it may be morally right and even praiseworthy to a high degree."†

We would emphasize still more, if possible, the analogy, which, as Lawrence indicates in the striking passage quoted above, may be drawn between the rights and duties of states in their relations with each other and between individual rights and duties.

"It is postulated of those independent states which are dealt with by international law that they have a moral nature identical with that of individuals, and that with respect to one another they are in the same relation as that in which individuals stand to each other who

* Would any of us hesitate to defend the child even against the parent himself, especially if the life of the child were in serious danger?

† Lawrence *op. cit.*, pp. 120-21. The phrase which I have placed in *italics* is a citation from Historicus, "Letters on Some Questions of International Law," I.

are subject to law. They are collective persons, and as such they have rights and are under obligations.''*

Not only are states endowed by political theorists with "a moral nature identical with that of individuals," and as such are said to possess moral rights and to be subject to moral obligations analogous at least in some respects to those of individuals; but German and even English publicists, including strict jurists like Hall himself,† find in the legal or moral consciousness of nations a fundamental source of international law.

While the habit of obedience to law, whether expressed in the commands of a superior in possession of authority, or found in customary rules and regulations, is the essential condition and source of all true liberty, every one certainly admits in practice, if not in theory, that there are occasions or circumstances which may justify him in acting independently, if not in direct violation, of positive law and custom. He does this either in deference to what he considers to be a higher law or sacred duty by virtue of his character and responsibility as a moral being; or he conceives that his own essential and permanent interests, or the ultimate interests of that portion of society of which he forms a part, or perhaps of humanity at large, operate to prevent a strict observance of the letter—it may be even of the spirit of the law. Reasoning by analogy we may say that in those rare and exceptional cases, where great international crimes are being perpetrated—where, *e. g.*, the extinction of a race is involved—or where essential and permanent interests of far-reaching importance are at stake, states may "set aside every-day restraints;" and, obeying the commands of the higher law, the promptings of the national or race-conscience, or the demands of a national

* Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

† *Ibid.*, p. 6: "Another portion of international usage gives effect to certain moral obligations, which are recognized as being the source of legal rules with the same unanimity as marks opinion with respect to the facts of state existence."

policy, they may intervene in order to put an end to "barbarous and abominable cruelties," or advance their permanent and important interests.

Let us now examine a little more closely the doctrine of intervention both as laid down by writers on international law, and as it may be inferred from the practice of nations, especially during this century.

Intervention for the sake of self-preservation, and for the purpose of preventing or terminating illegal and unjustifiable intervention in the affairs of a fellow-member of international society, are perhaps the only cases upon which writers in general are willing to pronounce in favor of legal intervention with practical unanimity. Many of the older writers, *e. g.* Vattel, Wheaton, Bluntschli, Heffter, Phillimore, etc., attempt to justify intervention on the ground of humanity or to put a stop to religious persecution, etc.,—whether on legal or moral grounds is not always clear. Vattel* says,

"every foreign power has a right to succour an oppressed people who implore their assistance . . . for when a people from good reasons take up arms against an oppressor, justice and generosity require, that brave men should be assisted in the defence of their liberties."

Bluntschli thinks that

"when the iniquitous conduct of a state constitutes a general danger, all the other powers are authorized to support the demands of the state directly menaced, and to contribute to the re-establishment of law and order."†

Amongst "acts of this sort which are a menace to universal public order," Bluntschli mentions, amongst others,

"the violent oppression of nations capable of freedom and independence (*peuples viable et indépendants*) and religious persecutions."‡

Wheaton favors intervention

"where the general interests of humanity are infringed by a barbarous and despotic government,"§

* Bk. II, cap. iv.

† § 471.

‡ § 472.

§ Pt. II, cap. i, § 69.

and Heffter,* while denying the right of intervention to repress tyranny, holds with Vattel† that

“whenever a civil war is kindled in a state, foreign powers may assist that party which appears to them to have justice on its side.”

Calvo‡ and Fiore§ are of the opinion that states can intervene to put an end to crimes and slaughter. Woolsey|| permits legal intervention where

“some extraordinary state of things is brought about by the crime of a government against its subjects.”

Hall¶ seems opposed to intervention on the ground of humanity in any case, but Lawrence** admits that

“interventions on the ground of humanity have under very exceptional circumstances a moral, though not a legal justification.”

The tendency on the part of recent writers seems to be to restrict intervention as a legal right to a very few cases. As Hall points out,†† it is perhaps

“unfortunate that publicists have not laid down broadly and unanimously that no intervention is legal, except for the purpose of self-preservation, unless a breach of the law as between states has taken place, or unless the whole body of civilized states have concurred in authorizing it. . . . The record of the last hundred years might not have been much cleaner than it is, but . . . international law would in any case have been saved from complicity with it.”

Lawrence admits only three cases where intervention is *legally* justifiable: (1) Intervention to ward off imminent danger to the intervening power. (2) Intervention in pursuance of a right to intervene given by treaty, which, he says, is *technically* justifiable.‡‡ (3) Intervention

* § 46.

† Bk. II, cap. iv.

‡ § 166.

§ § 1, 446.

|| § 43.

¶ Pp. 286-88.

** P. 132.

†† P. 288.

‡‡ It does not seem to us that this is a case of justifiable intervention; for as Woolsey points out in a note (p. 44): “If the principles of intervention cannot stand, treaties of guaranty, which contemplate such intervention, must be condemned also; . . . an agreement, if it involves an unlawful act, or the prevention of lawful acts on the part of others, is plainly unlawful.”

to prevent or terminate the illegal intervention of another state.*

We have given a reason in the foot-note above for rejecting the second of Lawrence's categories, and if we consider that the right of self-preservation takes precedence of all law, and that it is in reality a fundamental law of our nature from whose operation we could not escape if we would, we have only one case left where intervention is, strictly and legally speaking, justifiable—the *case of intervention to prevent or terminate the illegal intervention of another state*.† Now inasmuch as the society of nations has failed to provide special organs or means to secure the enforcement and sanction of the rules of international law, and as each state is therefore in a certain sense the guardian and executive of these rules and assists in their enforcement, does it not follow that we are justified in reducing this sole remaining rule to, and identifying it with, the principle of non-intervention? If it be true that intervention is, strictly speaking, illegal, except in this one class of cases, our exception is more apparent than real. It resolves itself into a simple affirmation of the right and duty of each state to enforce a rule of international law—the rule of non-intervention.‡

* Lawrence, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-19.

† Hall, in the passage quoted above, seems to justify intervention where the "whole body of civilized states have concurred in authorizing it." But he admits (p. 292) that "if a practice of this kind be permissible, its justification must rest solely upon the benefits which it secures." Such intervention could never rest upon a purely legal basis, inasmuch as the consent of the state whose rights were interfered with could never be secured. If such consent were given it would not be an intervention.

‡ The principle of non-intervention as a rule of international law, although denied by many publicists, or often weakly defended by others, is a necessary corollary of the doctrine of the independence and legal equality of states—a fundamental dogma of international law ever since the time of Grotius. In denial of the doctrine of non-intervention, Lawrence says with much sense and discrimination, (p. 135). "If this doctrine means that a state should do nothing but mind its own concerns and never take an interest in the affairs of other states, it is fatal to the idea of a family of nations. If, on the other hand, it means that a state should take an interest in international affairs and express approval or disapproval of the conduct of its neighbors, but never go beyond moral suasion in its interference, it is foolish." But the doctrine of non-intervention means

But does not history teem with instances of intervention—the rule of non-intervention to the contrary notwithstanding? Were not the leaders of the French Revolution, who sought to elevate the principle of non-intervention into a rule of international law, among the first to violate the dogma? Has not intervention even since the Napoleonic period been undertaken on every possible pretext and been justified by the most diverse reasonings?

All writers on international law seem to feel and realize the great difficulty of laying down general legal principles which should govern intervention, but few seem to recognize the real reason for the divergence of opinion and practice which exists with regard to this matter. It seems to us to arise from the fact that we are here dealing with questions of international policy as distinguished from those of law. As a French work on international law, entitled to great authority and respect, expresses it:

*"Intervention is not a right; . . . the government which intervenes performs a political act" (un acte de politique).**

That there are large, and, it must be admitted, somewhat vague fields of international policy and international morality as distinct from international law and comity, where the dictates of interest, policy, morality and humanity prevail sometimes in direct violation of the rules of positive law and custom, is, we take it, more or less evident to every student of international relations; although very few writers seem clearly to recognize the fact. Practical statesmen and

neither the one nor the other. It is simply a negative statement of the fact that each state has a right to have its independence and sovereignty respected by others and that all states are equal before the law. As Lawrence goes on to say, "They (states) should intervene very sparingly, and only on the clearest grounds of justice and necessity." Intervention is a political or moral—never a legal right. It is in this respect analagous to the so-called right of the revolution of the citizen or subject against an oppressive and tyrannical government.

* See *"Précis du Droit des Gens,"* by Funck-Bretano and Albert Sorel, Second Edition, 1897. Pp. 212-16. We do not however agree with these publicists in their specious claim that nations are guided in this matter with sole reference to their interest, and that there is no real or practical difference between the principle of intervention and that of non-intervention—the latter being, as they claim, merely a disguised form of intervention.

men of the world are perhaps more apt to realize this than students of books and documents, who do not always fully realize that international, as well as any other species of politics, is an art as well as a science, and is surrounded with a wider horizon than that of organized facts and established principles.

To these vague and partially unexplored regions of international policy and international ethics belong the cases of political intervention with which the international annals of Europe are filled ever since the Reformation.

An examination of a large number of cases of intervention in Europe and America during the last three centuries would show us how various the grounds and how diverse the reasonings on which statesmen have justified their action in this respect. Impediments to commerce, burdensome measures of protection and repression, requests to interfere,* the danger of effusion of blood, humanity, evils of all kinds, the repose of Europe, the maintenance of political equilibrium or political influence, the protection of persons and property, the collection of debts due to subjects, etc., etc., are some of the reasons given for intervention. Very few of these reasons are admitted by the writers on international law as valid or legal grounds for intervention.†

* There have been in Europe since the close of the Napoleonic wars in 1815, many cases of forcible intervention on the part of the Powers for or against the efforts of a people to attain its independence. Examples are (1) The intervention of England, France, and Russia in favor of Greece in 1827; (2) Of the five Powers in favor of Belgium, 1830; (3) Of Russia against Hungary in 1849; (4) The numerous cases of intervention in cases of revolt against Turkey. Not only Greece, but Roumania, Bulgaria, Roumelia, Crete and Servia owe their partial or absolute independence in part at least to such intervention.

† A good example of the variety of motives which sometimes govern intervention is that which has led to the present occupation of Egypt by the British. "It involves for Great Britain questions of self-interest with regard to the Suez Canal, questions of national honor with regard to the promises made to Tewfik Pasha in 1879, questions of good government with regard to the suppression of the Arabist movement and the reforms of the administration, questions of finance with regard to the Egyptian debt, and questions of the rights of other states in connection with the dual control which was shared with France, and the suspension of the Law of Liquidation, which was signed by no less than fourteen Powers," Lawrence's "International Law," p. 133. See also Holland on the "European Concert in the Eastern Question," pp. 293-301.

One of the leading ideas of European diplomacy since the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, has been the preservation of the balance of power in Europe—an idea now superseded in certain respects by that of the European Concert. For the majority of interventions, perhaps, this idea has served as one of the real grounds or pretexts. But as one of its advocates asserts,

"Its right to exist cannot be deduced from any principle of international law, unless the state system of Europe be regarded as a kind of alliance or confederation, having for its purpose the maintenance of peace and the prevention of useless and unnecessary wars."*

Since the year 1827 intervention in the affairs of the Ottoman Empire has been so constant as to create, in the opinion of some writers, a body of jurisprudence and a long series of treaties by which the affairs of southeastern Europe are almost entirely regulated.†

"Over the groups of problems which we call the Eastern Question," says Lawrence, "the authority of the powers is absolute and complete. There is scarcely a detail which they do not settle by agreement among themselves."

"There are," Lawrence continues, "other questions, such as the security of the neutralized states of Europe, which they deem matters of common concern. . . . The authority of the European Concert is limited, its jurisdiction rudimentary, and its procedure indefinite and uncertain. But it exists, and is one of the great factors in the international politics of the civilized world."‡

We would also note, in passing, that the entire fabric of European supremacy in Asia, *e. g.*, in India, Siam, Persia,

* Davis "International Law," p. 78.

† M. Rolin Jacquemyns in the *Revue de Droit International* (Vol. xviii, p. 603) expresses the opinion "that the Eastern Question constitutes a case apart, and that within the area of the Turkish Empire, and the small states adjoining, there exists a collective authority, historically and judicially established; that of the Great Powers,"—cited by Hall, pp. 292-93, note. It may be that with regard to the Eastern Question and a few other matters of international administration, international policy has hardened into principles of international law and that rudimentary principles of jurisprudence have been established; although, if so, they have never been officially declared. Hall adopts the contrary opinion and holds that "such interference must still be justified on each occasion by the necessities of the moment," *i. e.* on grounds of policy.

‡ Lawrence, *op. cit.*, pp. 245-46.

Afghanistan, and China, rests upon the exercise of the power of political intervention.

A primacy similar in kind, if not equal in degree, which is wielded by the United States alone, exists in America. Though the extent and method of control be different from that exercised by the concert of the Great Powers in Europe, the kind of control is essentially the same. It is a political primacy, which has no legal basis whatever, but which rests upon certain well-known maxims of policy originally enunciated by President Monroe in his famous message of December 2, 1823, and developed by usage or repeated application to actual events. Although no

"President has gone to the length of assuming the powers exercised by the European Concert in dictating territorial arrangements or calling new states into being, . . . there can be no doubt that very large powers of supervision have been claimed for certain definite purposes which tend rather to increase in number than to decrease." *

We do not wish to enter upon any extended discussion of the Monroe Doctrine, and shall merely refresh the memory of the reader by reminding him that the doctrine as stated by President Monroe contains two important principles. (1) The assertion that the United States would consider any attempt on the part of European powers "to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." (2) That the American continents "are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers." Together with Washington's policy of non-interference in the affairs of Europe, as outlined in his "Farewell Address," the Monroe Doctrine constitutes the basis of our international policy and diplomatic history. The sum and substance of our whole foreign policy is contained in the famous letter of Jefferson to Monroe of October 24, 1823:

"Our first maxim should be, never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe. Our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle in cis-Atlantic affairs."

* Lawrence, *op. cit.*, pp. 247-48.

American statesman, *e. g.*, President Cleveland in his Venezuelan message of a few years ago, have sometimes opened themselves to sound criticism and easy attack on the part of foreign diplomatists by insisting that the Monroe Doctrine was part and parcel of international law. I think we have sufficiently demonstrated the fallacy of any such a claim. *The Monroe Doctrine is above and beyond the domain of law; it is a policy* which we have maintained in the face of a colonizing and intervening Europe for the best part of a century, and which we shall continue to maintain in the face, if necessary, of a united and hostile Europe. We have all to gain and nothing to lose by frankly announcing it as such to the world.

Although the United States is under no pledge to intervene in any particular case, and is sole judge of the justice and expediency of every cause which may seem to call for intervention, and although the Monroe Doctrine has never received the formal sanction of either branch of our national legislature, nevertheless the executive department of our government has repeatedly acted upon its principles, and will continue to maintain them, if true to its trust, as long as the present political conditions in Europe and America remain essentially unchanged. As long as the leading states of Europe continue their present policy of aggression and colonization, and as long as the Latin-American states of this continent need a protector, the United States, for the sake of her own interests as well as for those of her weaker sister-republics, must remain the principal bulwark against such spirit of aggression and policy of colonization.* The Monroe Doctrine forms a fundamental article in the creed of every patriotic American, and hardly a president since the days of Monroe has failed to refer to it in words of approval.

* That the principle of the Monroe Doctrine, directed against colonization, is not dead, is shown by the most recent application of the doctrine against British aggression in Venezuela—clearly a case of attempted colonization as well as territorial aggrandizement.

"It has been persistently asserted by the majority of American statesmen; and to declare that it cannot obtain as a universal obligation is practically to throw discredit upon Washington's Farewell Address, whose recommendations, though never embodied in statutes or approved by resolution of Congress, have frequently shaped the foreign and domestic policy of the government."*

In short, as has often been stated, the *Monroe Doctrine is to America what the balance of power is to Europe.*

It may be urged with some degree of plausibility by those who cling to its letter rather than to its spirit, that the Monroe Doctrine, if it applies to Cuba, commits us to a policy of non-intervention with regard to that island as long as Spain continues even in nominal possession. In his famous message of 1823, President Monroe says:

"With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere; but with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States."

At the time that this declaration was made, Cuba was still comparatively peaceful and prosperous. Nothing but a ripple or two had disturbed her peaceful relations with Spain,† and a period of unusual prosperity had characterized the preceding fifty years. During the Spanish wars against Napoleon, the Cubans remained stubbornly faithful to the Spanish Bourbons, and had earned for Cuba the title of the "Ever-faithful Isle." Their loyalty was, however, rewarded by the promulgation on March 28, 1825, of a royal decree which established on the island a military despotism of the most pronounced Oriental type. This decree remains, with slight modifications, the fundamental law of Cuba. It grants to His Excellency, the Captain-General, "the fullest

* Tucker's "Monroe Doctrine," p. 130.

† An attempted insurrection by the *Soles de Bolivar* in 1823 had been nipped in the bud and had never reached maturity.

authority," bestowing upon him "all the powers which by the royal ordinances are granted to the governors of besieged cities." * It seems that the loss of Spanish America, the declaration of its independence by Santo Domingo in 1821, and possibly the purchase of Florida by the United States in 1819-21, were the causes which led Spain to adopt this oppressive and fatal policy. Ever since 1825, therefore, Cuba has not only been governed by martial law, but may be said to have been in a perpetual "state of siege." † It is the boast of the Cubans during the present insurrection that they have "limited the territory of the operation of martial law." ‡ "In fine," as a prominent writer who visited the island in 1859 puts it, "what is the Spanish government in Cuba, but an armed monarchy, encamped in the midst of a disarmed and disenfranchised people?" §

Ever since the establishment of this permanent dictatorship in 1825, Cuba has been almost constantly in a state of insurrection and revolution. We will merely refer in passing to the Bolivar project of 1826, the "Black Eagle" insurrection of 1827-9, the disturbances of 1835 and 1844, the famous Lopez and Crittenden expedition of 1850, which created so much excitement in the United States, the abortive attempt at revolution in 1854, the prolonged and desperate ten years' struggle from 1868 to 1878, and finally the present revolution, inaugurated a little over three years since, on February 24, 1895.

* A translation of this decree may be found in Rowan and Ramsey's "Island of Cuba," pp. 101-2. The decree of 1825 was revoked in 1870, but the Captain-General retains in all essentials all his previous functions. He is far more absolute than the Czar of Russia. He can overrule the decision of any court and even suspend the execution of any order from Madrid.

† Dana, "To Cuba and Back," p. 232.

‡ Murat Halstead's "Story of Cuba," p. 23. Halstead observes with much force and penetration (p. 315), "The answer that should be made to the assertion that the Cubans have no civil government, is that they have as much authority of a civic character as the Spaniards, for there is nothing but martial law in the island. The fight of Spain is to continue martial law, and the Cubans are in arms to overthrow the Spanish law, which is administered by soldiers by force of arms."

§ Dana, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

The causes of these repeated insurrections are not difficult to find. They are known to all the world. The history of Spanish rule and warfare in Cuba during the greater portion of this century has been a history of economic and political blunders and crimes so great and fearful that their parallel can only be found in the extortions of Roman provincial governors during the latter days of the Roman Republic or in the bloody annals of Spanish warfare in the Netherlands under the Duke of Alva in the sixteenth century.

Owing to her numerous wars in Europe and America during this and previous centuries and to revolution, poverty, exhaustion and financial mismanagement at home, Spain has accumulated a national debt which in 1891 had attained the enormous sum total—enormous for a country like Spain—of \$1,211,453,696. Cuba, being the richest jewel in the royal crown, has been forced to contribute about twice her proportionate share to the payment of the interest on this debt.* The annual revenue raised in Cuba in 1868 approximated \$26,000,000. The revolution which broke out during that year frustrated an attempt to raise it to over \$40,000,000. The revenues of Cuba have repeatedly been pledged for the debts of Spain.

This large revenue has been raised by means of a system of taxation extremely burdensome and oppressive. The Cuban tariff schedule covers forty-two printed pages and contains a list of 417 dutiable articles or classes. When we remember that Cuba relies almost exclusively on imports for many articles of prime necessity and that the tariff is one for revenue rather than protection, the rates will strike us as intolerably excessive, and in many cases must be almost

*The annual payment for interest and sinking fund on this debt in 1891 was \$67,187,538, of which Cuba's share amounted to \$10,187,538, or considerably more than one-seventh. The population of Cuba in 1887 was 1,631,687; that of Spain, 17,565,632. This debt has now increased to over \$1,500,000,000. Newspaper statistics, which I hesitate to accept, place it at over \$1,700,000,000, at least \$300,000,000 have been added as a result of the heroic efforts which Spain has made to put down the present insurrection.

prohibitive.* Import duties, however, furnish considerably less than one-half the revenue. There are also export duties; heavy port dues; taxes on real estate, passenger fares, trades and professions, stamps, lotteries (an important item), rents and sales of public property; an excise on liquors, sugar (now abolished), tobacco and petroleum, besides minor sources of income.

This large revenue which has been raised in such an oppressive and burdensome manner is spent in the most inequitable and unjustifiable fashion. Over \$10,000,000 went in 1895-96 toward the payment of interest on the national debt of Spain; enormous salaries were paid to the great civil and ecclesiastical dignitaries of the island;† nearly \$7,000,000 was devoted to the support of the army and navy; over \$2,000,000, to the payment of pensions; over \$4,000,000, for the maintenance of the executive and police force; and \$385,000 to the support of the Established Roman Catholic Church. We should, however, not forget to note the appropriation in 1893-94 of \$137,760 for higher educational purposes (not for common schools) in a country where education is nominally compulsory, and the setting aside of \$20,000 annually "for the secret expenses of the legation at Washington and consulates in the United States." About \$700,000 was applied to internal improvements in the island.‡

It is a matter of common knowledge that these taxes, so

* Building stone. *c. g.*, is taxed at the rate of \$10.50 per ton; salt, \$10.00 per bbl.; petroleum, 14 cents per gallon, gunpowder, 60 cents per pound; books, 78 cents per pound; agricultural implements, \$1.13 per cwt.; pianos and carriages, \$82.00 and \$198.00 each respectively; and steam machinery, \$3.18 per cwt. Flour is burdened with duties so heavy that wheaten bread as early as 1868 ceased to be an article of common food. See Rowan and Ramsey's "Island of Cuba" for tables, pp. 198-201 and p. 116.

† The Captain-General received in 1868 an annual salary of \$50,000; the governor of each province, \$12,000; and the Archbishop of Santiago de Cuba and the Bishop of Havana, each \$18,000. Presumably these salaries have not been reduced since that date.

‡ For these and many other valuable facts see Rowan and Ramsey, *op. cit.*, Pt. III, especially p. 202. At least two-thirds of the Cuban revenue immediately or ultimately finds its way back to Spain.

unjustly levied and so unwisely spent, do not tell the whole story of Spanish extortion in Cuba. In addition to these authorized levies, there are "incident to all offices, civil and ecclesiastical, from the highest to the lowest," perquisites and peculations estimated by a competent and conservative authority at \$10,000,000 or more per annum.*

The economic sins of Spain against Cuba have been sins of omission as well as of commission. Between these the economic ruin of Cuba was rapidly being accomplished even before the recent devastation and destruction for military ends, of which the insurgents and Spaniards have been equally guilty. Spain has utterly failed to meet the demand of Cuba for the protection of her leading article of export—cane sugar—by means of bounties and import duties which were necessary in order to meet the competition of beet sugar, and the consequent diminishing price of her favorite article of export in the markets of the world. On the contrary, "the Cuban planter had to contend with a heavy tax on his crop, a heavy duty on the machinery for preparing it, a light export duty, and a duty at the port of destination. . . . Under the present trend of events, taxation remaining the same, it would not be long before Cuban sugar would be excluded from the markets of the world."†

Cuban tobacco has suffered almost as much as Cuban sugar. The great and steady decline of the export of cigars during recent years has been "due to general taxation, an export duty of \$1.80 per 1000, and increasing competition with other countries, especially the United States."‡

The political as distinct from economic grievances of Cuba have already been touched upon.

* *Ibid.*, pp. 113, 203. General Pando, in a speech delivered in the Congress of Deputies at Madrid in 1890, charged embezzlements and defalcations of \$40,000,000. In 1891 it was stated in the same House that there were "350 persons employed in the custom house and the administration against whom proceedings have been taken for fraud," and not one of whom had been punished. Another Deputy (Deputy Dalz) alleged in 1895 that the custom-house frauds in Cuba since 1878 amounted to \$100,000,000. *Ibid.*, pp. 144-45. The travelers to Cuba, although naturally they do not cite figures, all bear witness to the corruption of Spanish officials, high and low, in Cuba.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 146-49.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

"Since 1825, vestiges of anything approaching popular assemblies, juntas, a jury, independent tribunals, a right of voting, or a right to bear arms, have vanished from the island."*

It is true that the right of Cuban representation in the Cortez was restored after a lapse of over half a century in 1878. But the circumstances under which this right is exercised deprive it of all real value.†

The so-called political reforms of 1878 do not merit discussion. The provincial assemblies, the council of administration, and the "council of authorities" in no wise restrict the arbitrary and despotic authority of the provincial governors and the captain-general. "There has been an improvement of legal phraseology, but the system is the same."‡ Besides, practically, all the civil and ecclesiastical, as well as military positions of any importance whatever are filled by native Spaniards, who return to Spain sooner or later with their ill-gotten as well as their legitimate gains.§

Of liberty in the Anglo-Saxon, or even in the Continental sense of the term, there is and can be none in Cuba as long as Spain maintains her foothold on the island. The censorship of the press is exercised with the utmost capriciousness and rigor. There is no right of public meeting, voluntary association, or even of private assemblage.|| In times of peace the Cuban may be arrested, imprisoned or deported without public trial or process of law. The rebel as well as the criminal is treated with the utmost barbarity and cruelty. The use of torture even is not extinct. To her

* Dana, *op. cit.*, p. 233. This statement, made in 1859, remains substantially correct to-day.

† Under the peculiar electoral law in Cuba, the Cubans, who constitute about four-fifths of the white population of the island, manage to secure ordinarily three or four representatives in the Cortez. In 1896 they secured one.

‡ Murat Halstead's "Story of Cuba," p. 67. See, also, Rowan and Ramsey *op. cit.*, pp. 183-89.

§ Even the Cuban volunteers, now 63,000 strong, are mostly Spaniards who serve in the Cuban militia for three years in order to avoid the five years' conscription in Spain.

|| A permit is even necessary to hold a private reception of a purely social nature.

other mediæval abuses Spain adds that of religious intolerance. The Roman Catholic is the only religion tolerated.*

We hope that the student of international relations who has accompanied us thus far is now prepared to accept our conclusion that Spain, by reason of her ruinous economic policy as well as her corrupt and despotic government of Cuba, has forfeited all moral right to that island. Not even a prescriptive title of four hundred years will prevail in international morality against seventy-five years of such oppressive tyranny and criminal exploitation perpetrated in the broad daylight of nineteenth century civilization at the very doors of a nation which prides itself upon its love of liberty and hatred of oppression. Spain's record in Cuba is not one of occasional acts of misgovernment or mere economic blundering. She has doubtless sinned through ignorance, but it is through an ignorance based on a deliberately selfish policy—a Bourbon ignorance which refuses to profit by the lessons of experience and the repeated warnings and

*The following forcible and just parallel is drawn by Señor Palma between the grievances of our revolutionary fathers and those of Cuba, and is justly characterized by Mr. Halstead as a masterpiece: "We Cubans have a thousand-fold more reason in our endeavor to free ourselves from the Spanish yoke than the people of the thirteen colonies when, in 1775, they rose in arms against the British government. The people of those colonies were in full enjoyment of all the rights of man; they had liberty of conscience, freedom of speech, liberty of the press, the right of public meeting, and the right of free movement. They elected those who governed them, they made their own laws, and, in fact, enjoyed the blessings of self-government. They were not under the sway of a captain-general with arbitrary powers, who, at his will, could imprison them, deport them to penal colonies, or order their execution even without the semblance of a court-martial. They did not have to pay a permanent army and navy that they might be kept in subjection, nor to feed a swarm of hungry employes yearly sent over from the metropolis to prey upon the country. They were never subjected to a stupid and crushing customs tariff which compelled them to go to the home markets for millions of merchandise annually, which they could buy much cheaper elsewhere; they were never compelled to cover a budget of twenty-six or thirty million dollars a year without the consent of the taxpayers, and for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the army and navy of the oppressor, to pay the salaries of thousands of worthless European employes, the whole interest on a debt incurred by the colony, and other expenditures from which the island received no benefit whatever, for out of all these millions only the paltry sum of \$700,000 was apparently applied for works of internal improvement, and one-half of that invariably went into the pockets of the Spanish employes." Murat Halstead's "Story of Cuba," pp. 345-46.

protests of a friendly nation.* Surely the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine, which was especially launched against the introduction of oppressive and despotic government on this hemisphere, may be invoked to justify intervention against Spain in behalf of Cuba by the recognition of her independence.

The people and leading statesmen of the United States have manifested a great and particular interest in the future welfare of Cuba ever since the early part of this century.† The Monroe Doctrine has upon several occasions been applied in order to prevent the acquisition of Cuba by any other European power, and it is a well-known and settled policy of the United States "that we could not consent to the occupation of these islands (Cuba and Porto Rico) by any other European power than Spain under any contingency whatever."‡ We have even threatened to go to war, if necessary, in order to uphold this policy.§

Intervention in Cuba by the United States, although an undoubted violation of the territorial sovereignty of Spain, and therefore, on the face of it, a gross affront to the Spanish nation, would in reality be an act of the greatest kindness to Spain. Separation from Cuba would be the greatest blessing which could fall to the lot of that misguided and unhappy nation. Spain

"cannot regain her health as long as she is wasting blood and treasure in Cuba. Unless the amputation of the Cuban limb takes place, the whole body of Spain will be poisoned." ||

* A fair-sized and interesting volume of such warnings and remonstrances, on the part of the United States, might be compiled by consulting our diplomatic correspondence with Spain.

† Another useful volume might be filled with expressions of opinions of our leading statesmen, and with planks of our party platforms on this subject. See the writer's paper on the "Recognition of Cuban Belligerency," for a few such expressions of opinion, in *ANNALS* for May, 1846, Vol. vii, p. 750.

‡ Mr. Clay to Mr. Brown, United States Minister to France, October 25, 1825. Wharton's "Digest," Vol. i, p. 367.

§ In 1840, *e. g.*, when British aggression was feared, assurance was given to Spain that she might "securely rely upon the whole naval and military resources of the United States to aid her in preserving or recovering" Cuba.

|| See *London Spectator* for February 12, 1898.

During the ten years from 1868-78, Spain lost, according to official statistics, 81,098 men out of 155,298. The cost of that war was at least \$150,000,000. During the present struggle the

"area of strife is extended, and the destruction of life and property has been vastly augmented. Then but three of the six provinces were partially laid waste, now the whole extent of the island is devastated. Both armies have in numbers been multiplied by three, and the insurgents have gained in confidence, and in the freedom with which they apply the torch."*

The cost of the present war to Spain has been at least 100,000 men, including invalids, and \$300,000,000 in bonds.

How stands the account between Spain and the United States with regard to Cuba? How has Cuba under Spanish rule been able to acquit herself toward the United States in respect to her obligations as a neighbor and customer? For the five years ending June 30, 1895, Cuban importations to the United States amounted to \$346,902,092, or an average of \$69,380,418 per annum; Cuban importations *from* the United States, \$87,269,138, or an average of \$17,453,828. The balance of trade in favor of Cuba during these five years was therefore \$259,632,954, or an average of \$51,926,585.† During this same period the United States shipped \$87,544,830 in gold to Cuba, the remaining obligation of \$172,088,124 having been met in other ways. Our trade with Cuba has therefore suffered during the past three years of warfare to the extent of nearly \$87,000,000 per annum. The destruction of the sugar and tobacco crops in Cuba and the loss of our commerce, is a great deprivation to our people.

* Murat Halstead, *op. cit.*, p. 49. The statistics available do not bear out Halstead's estimate. The Spanish forces in Cuba probably have never much exceeded 200,000. Halstead gives a Spanish list (p. 303) of plantations destroyed by the insurgents and (pp. 304-5) a list of forty-two towns charged by the Cubans to the Spaniards.

† Spain by means of differential duties has been able on the contrary to secure a large balance of trade in *her* favor. For the year ending June 30, 1894, Spanish exports *to* Cuba amounted to \$23,412,376; Spanish imports *from* Cuba, \$7,528,622—a difference of \$15,883,754 in favor of Spain. Rowan and Ramsey, *op. cit.*, p. 212. See, pp. 210-11 for very interesting tables showing by way of comparison our trade relations with other West India Islands.

The large balance of trade against us only shows that we have been forced to trade with Cuba under very unfavorable conditions. It must be assumed that the benefits which we have derived from Cuba as a purchaser are as great as those which we have enjoyed as a seller. It is not that our purchases have been too great, but our sales or exports have been too small.

Cuba presents to the United States all the conditions of an ideal customer. The greatest possible amount of trade between the two countries could not but be mutually advantageous. Each country is anxious to dispose of what the other stands most in need of. Out of 718,204 tons of sugar exported from Cuba in 1893, 680,642 tons went to the United States. During that same year we also imported 7654 hogsheads of molasses. We purchase about two-thirds of the tobacco which Cuba raises and nearly one-half of her cigars. In 1892, Cuba purchased in our markets a little less than one-third of all her imports. Her main imports are rice, beef and flour—articles which we are anxious to dispose of.*

"In determining our policy toward Spain with reference to Cuba, we have a right not only to consider the actual and temporary loss which our commerce sustains through these protracted struggles, but we have a right to look to our ultimate and permanent interests."†

We will leave it to the reader's imagination to furnish the statistics of our future trade with a free and independent Cuba or with Cuba as a part of the American Union.

But it is not our commerce alone which has suffered from prolonged and repeated insurrection in Cuba. American citizens have suffered in respect to their rights of person and property to an extent which has been a source of great humiliation and regret to the people and statesmen of this country. Senator H. D. Money in a recent article in the *Forum* for March, 1898, estimates that citizens of the United

* "Statesman's Year Book" for 1895.

† "Recognition of Cuban Belligerency," by the writer in the *ANNALS* for May, 1896, vol. vii, p. 457.

States have over \$50,000,000 invested in property in Cuba.* It cannot be possible that all of this property has escaped destruction either by the Spaniards or the Cubans. Not only have Americans suffered from the destruction of their property in Cuba, but American lives have often been jeopardized and in some cases even sacrificed.† Our past experience with the government of Madrid as well as its present condition of practical bankruptcy should convince us of the utter futility of any hopes which we may cherish of securing adequate indemnity for such destruction of life and property. Not only have American citizens suffered insult and injury, for which there can be no remedy, but vessels carrying the American flag have been fired upon, searched, and seized on the high seas. The *Black Warrior* (1850) and *Virginius* (1873) are only amongst the more flagrant instances of this kind.‡ It is also a matter of great annoyance and inconvenience that, as Secretary Fish complained in a communication to Mr. Cushing in 1875, "for any injury done to the United States or their citizens in Cuba, we have no direct means of redress there, but can obtain it only by slow and circuitous action by way of Madrid."§

Another source of great inconvenience and expense to which our government has been subjected has been the prevention of filibustering expeditions to Cuba—a duty, be it observed, which we owe to ourselves rather than to Spain,||

* Other estimates are from \$25,000,000 upwards. President Cleveland in his message of December, 1896, estimates the amount at from \$30,000,000 to \$50,000,000.

† An executive document "contains the names of sixty-six American citizens executed without due trial during the ten years' war"—Rowan and Ramsey's "Island of Cuba," p. 208. Although a repetition of such incidents has been provided against by treaty and greater vigilance on the part of our consuls in Cuba, it cannot be said, in view of recent events, that such danger has entirely disappeared.

‡ In the former case an indemnity of \$300,000 was paid after a delay of five years; in the latter case of gross violation of international usage the pitiful sum of \$80,000 was exacted; but the governor who ordered the summary execution of American citizens and British subjects was never punished.

§ Wharton's "Digest," Vol. i, p. 410.

|| At present we are bound in this matter merely by our own neutrality laws; only in the event of the recognition of Cuban belligerency would we be placed under international obligations.

and one where obligations have been exceeded rather than evaded by our government.* So far Spain has shown no appreciation of our zeal in the service of her interests in this matter. On the contrary our people and government have been charged with responsibility for the prolonged continuance of the present struggle.

It may be acknowledged that we *are* responsible for its continuance; but in quite a different sense from that in which the Spanish government and newspapers have intimated. We stand convicted in the eyes of the civilized world † and of posterity, whether we intervene at this late day or not, of negligence in permitting one of the greatest crimes of the nineteenth century to be perpetrated at our Southern Gate.

If our essential and permanent interests and a national policy, established and developed by seventy-five years of usage, imperatively demand the recognition of Cuban independence, accompanied by such a display and use of force as may be necessary to secure that result, how much more is such a step justified and necessitated by the higher claims of humanity—universally recognized by writers on international law as a moral, if not a legal, justification of intervention! We do not in this connection speak of ordinary acts of oppression and cruelty, but of a crime against the human race itself. We refer to the policy of extermination deliberately adopted, as we believe, by the Spanish government itself, and inaugurated by General Weyler in his

* According to the *Review of Reviews* for March, 1898 (p. 262), not less than \$2,000,000 have been spent by our government for this purpose. The *Review of Reviews* states that this money was spent practically under Minister De Lome's instructions, and charges that it was used not so much to prevent such illegal expeditions as to prevent the sale of arms and supplies to the insurgents—a business perfectly legitimate in itself, even in times of war.

† Bonsal, "Real Condition of Cuba To-day" (p. 142), testifies that he has heard many of the consular representatives of France and England express the opinion "that the government and people of our country are directly responsible for all the bloody crimes that are committed in the name of warfare" in Cuba. As Bonsal says, "They are right. Our share of responsibility is a heavy one."

decree of reconcentration, of October 21, 1896.* This decree orders

"that all the inhabitants of the country districts, or those who reside outside the lines of fortifications of the towns, shall, within a space of eight days, enter the towns which are occupied by the troops. Any individual found outside the lines in the country at the expiration of this period shall be considered a rebel, and shall be dealt with as such," *i. e.*, shot down in cold blood.†

We will not speak of the ordinary atrocities and massacres, not only of prisoners of war, but of innocent *pacificos*—nay, even of women and children—and of the deportations with which the Cuban annals of warfare in this century are filled. These and many other facts of the most horrible description are attested not only by multitudinous newspaper reports, but by witnesses of high character and undoubted veracity.

In the absence of the official consular reports,† which have been promised but which are still withheld by the Executive Department of our government, it is impossible to present estimates, even approximately correct, of the number of *pacificos*—mostly women and children—who have died from starvation and disease as a result of General Weyler's decree of reconcentration.

Very little, if any, attempt has been made to provide any kind of food whatsoever for these starving masses, and they have only been allowed in rare cases even to dig roots outside lines of fortification. Their condition from every point of view, including the sanitary, is horrible in the extreme. The plague of Athens during the Peloponnesian War, or the Black Death of the Middle Ages scarcely afford a parallel to what is now going on in Cuba. All the miseries of famine, disease and war have combined to heighten the sufferings of

* A complete copy of this decree may be found in nearly all the recent books which bear on the present war in Cuba. See E. G. Bonsal's "Real Condition of Cuba To-day," p. 108.

† [These have since been submitted.—EDITOR.]

a race which, whatever its shortcomings, is human and American. Recent modifications of the severe decree come too late to effect substantial betterment of conditions.

It is now nearly one year and a half since General Weyler's policy of race extermination went into effect. It is nearly fifteen months since President Cleveland declared in his message to Congress :

"When the inability of Spain to deal successfully with the insurgents has become manifest, and it is demonstrated that her sovereignty is extinct in Cuba for all purposes of its rightful existence, and when a hopeless struggle for its re-establishment has degenerated into a strife which is nothing more than the useless sacrifice of human life and the utter destruction of the very subject-matter of the conflict, a situation will be presented in which our obligations to the sovereignty of Spain will be superseded by higher obligations, which we can hardly hesitate to recognize and discharge !"

At least a year has elapsed since it has been evident to all those who have eyes to see and ears to hear that all these conditions have been fulfilled. It is now manifest to all the world that the struggle in Cuba is one which is perfectly hopeless on both sides. The Spaniards have put forth a last and supreme effort to conquer the Cubans by a policy of extermination of the peaceful inhabitants, and have only added another chapter to a long colonial history of disgrace and disaster. The insurgents cannot hope to drive the Spaniards from the leading towns and coasts of the island. Unless the United States intervenes, the struggle promises to continue indefinitely; for owing to the peculiar physical conditions and methods of warfare which prevail on the island, the insurgents can never be subdued. This hopeless struggle has long since degenerated into a strife which means nothing more than the *useless sacrifice of human life*, and threatens *the utter destruction of the very subject-matter of the conflict*.

The scheme of autonomy, for the ripening of whose fruits President McKinley has been long and patiently waiting, has, according to the practically unanimous opinion of those

who know, turned out to be both a farce and a failure.* In his message to Congress of December 6, 1897, our President said:

"The near future will demonstrate whether the indispensable condition of a righteous peace, just alike to the Cubans and to Spain, as well as equitable to all our interests so intimately involved in the welfare of Cuba, is likely to be attained."

The *near future* has demonstrated that such a peace is *not* likely to be attained.

The Monroe Doctrine forbids intervention on the American continent by any European power. We have announced our peculiar interest in Cuba to all the world. These rights and interests involve grave obligations for which the world and posterity will hold us responsible.

The hour for intervention is at hand. In view of recent events this step cannot and will not be delayed much longer. We cannot atone for past negligence and weakness, but we may in part, at least, redeem our character as a nation in the eyes of the world, and recover our own sense of national self-respect by prompt and vigorous action.

AMOS S. HERSHEY.

State University, Bloomington, Ind.

April 1, 1898,

*The highest of these authorities is our late Minister to Spain, Mr. Taylor, who has denounced in the *North American Review*, 1897, and in a remarkable letter to the *New York Herald* in November, 1897, "the hollowness and emptiness of the whole shadowy pretence embodied in the royal decree of February, 1897." Mr. Taylor sees no solution of the Cuban problem except intervention by the United States.

BRIEFER COMMUNICATION.

THE NEW YORK PRIMARY ELECTION LAW.

Within the last few years a number of states have taken steps toward the public control of primary elections. Kentucky has provided for an official enrollment of party voters, Massachusetts has adopted a secret ballot for the primaries of Boston, while Illinois, by an act applicable only to Chicago, has taken the conduct of primary elections out of the hands of the party organizations and entrusted it to the regular election officers.

In the primary law which has just been passed by the legislature of New York, all of these features are combined.* The act is mandatory in cities of the first and second class,† and may be adopted in all other cities or villages of over 5000 inhabitants. It provides for two classes of primaries, official and unofficial. Unofficial primaries are to be conducted by the party organizations as formerly, but they are only intended to nominate candidates for special elections. There is to be an annual official primary on the seventh Tuesday before the general election. And further, on the first Tuesday in June of each even year, a primary election for delegates to state conventions is to be held. The official primaries will be surrounded with practically the same safeguards as regular elections.

The party affiliation of voters is to be recorded on the registration books. When a voter presents himself for registration, the inspectors will first record his name and address as heretofore, and will then ask the question: "Do you desire to enroll for the purpose of participating in the primary elections of any party?" If he answers in the negative or declines to answer, the word "no" will be written in the appropriate column. If he answers in the affirmative, the word "yes" will be written in the same column and he will be asked the further question: "With what political party do you wish to enroll?" Unless challenged, the inspectors must enroll him with the party which he designates; but if challenged, he must make a declaration covering three points: First, that he is in general sympathy with the principles of the party; second, that it is his intention to support its nominees *generally* at the next election, and third, that he has not enrolled with, or participated

* "An act in relation to enrollment of political parties, primary elections, conventions, and political committees." Approved March 29, 1898.

† Which includes all cities with a population of 50,000 or over.

in the primary elections or conventions of any other party since the first day of the preceding year.

In order to make this last declaration honestly, the voter must not have acted as a member of any other party within a period of twenty-one months. For example, at the enrollment in October, 1899, no one will be able to enroll as a Republican who has voted at the primaries of any other party later than January 1, 1898. There is, however, to be a supplemental enrollment on the second Tuesday in May, and this shortens considerably the period of probation. Those who are unable to enroll in October, 1899, as a result of having participated in the primaries of some other party during the preceding year—1898—will be able to enroll at the supplemental enrollment in May, 1900, since at that time "the preceding year" will mean 1899 instead of 1898. From this it appears that the minimum period of probation which a voter must pass through in order to become a member of a new party is one year and four months—from the first of January to the second Tuesday in May of the following year. In effect, this means that the voter who desires to change his party affiliations must pass one calendar year without participating in the primaries of any party.

No one, however, will lose his party standing by joining an independent municipal organization such as the Citizens' Union, as only those organizations which polled over 10,000 votes for governor at the last state election are political parties within the meaning of the law. Furthermore, no one will forfeit the right to vote at the primaries of his party by voting against its candidates at the regular election; nor can he be required to answer any questions on that point.

The official primaries are to be conducted at public expense by the regular election inspectors. Cities and villages to which the act is applicable, are to be divided into primary districts, each including two contiguous regular election districts, and in each district there are to be two polling places. At one of these, the four regular election inspectors belonging to the party which polled the largest vote for governor at the last state election will preside and conduct a primary for the exclusive benefit of such party. At the other, the remaining election inspectors will conduct a general primary for all other parties.

The inspectors at each polling place will have copies of the registration books, and only those electors who are enrolled can participate in the primaries of their respective parties. If, however, an elector is duly enrolled and still resides in the district, he cannot be denied the right to vote. If he is challenged, nothing is required

of him except to declare under oath or affirmation that he is the person he represents himself to be, and that he resides, and has for thirty days past resided, at the address given as his residence.

In order to preserve the secrecy of the ballot, a plan has been adopted which permits greater freedom of voting than the Australian system, and at the same time relieves the city of the expense of printing ballots. Anyone who desires, may prepare a ticket and have it printed, but all ballots must be of a given size, weight, and texture of paper, and those of each party of a specified color; so that when they are folded the ballots of different parties will be easily distinguishable, while all those of the same party present the same appearance. At the opening of the polls all ballots intended for use at the election may be deposited with the inspectors. When an elector presents himself and declares his desire to vote, he must announce his name, residence and party, and then, if the inspectors find him duly enrolled, they will deliver to him unfolded one of each of the ballots of his party. Having received the ballots, the elector will retire to a booth and select the one which he desires to vote. When he leaves the booth, all the ballots must be folded so that the names will be concealed. He must first deliver to the inspectors the ballot which he intends to vote, and as soon as it is in the ballot box, he must deliver up all the others, which will be placed in a box provided for the purpose and after the completion of the canvass, burned without examination. If this system is properly carried out, no observer will be able to tell which of the ballots an elector votes, and thus the voting will be no less secret than under the Australian system.

Most of the details which have not been noticed here are substantially the same as at regular elections. Wherever honest results are secured by the general election system there is no apparent reason why equally satisfactory results should not be obtained from the same principles as applied to primary elections.

WALTER J. BRANSON.

Philadelphia.

PERSONAL NOTES.

AMERICA.

Adelphi College.—Dr. Fred Strong Shepherd has been appointed Assistant Professor of Economics at Adelphi College, Brooklyn. Professor Shepherd was born on June 4, 1863, at Racine, Wis. His early education was obtained in the Racine Academy, and in 1880 he entered Beloit College. He graduated with the degree of A. B. from that college in 1884, and received the degree of A. M. from the same institution in 1887. From 1884 to 1886 he was Principal of the High School at Prairie-du-Chien, Wis. The next six years he was principal of one of the departments of the Central High School of Minneapolis. He then entered the University of Chicago for post-graduate study, remaining one year. In the fall of 1893 he went abroad and remained until April, 1895, studying at the University of Berlin, the Sorbonne, and the Collège de France, Paris. During the year 1895-96 he held the Fellowship of Political and Social Science at Cornell University, and 1896-97 a Fellowship in Political Science at the University of Pennsylvania. He received the degree of Ph. D. from the latter institution in 1897. In the fall of that year he became Instructor in Economics in Adelphi College. Dr. Shepherd is a member of the following associations: American Academy of Political and Social Science, American Economic Association, Internationale Vereinigung für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft und Volkswirtschaftslehre zu Berlin.

Dartmouth College.—Mr. Maurice Henry Robinson has been appointed Assistant in Political Science at Dartmouth College. Mr. Robinson was born at Meredith, Belknap County, N. H. He attended the public schools of his native town and entered Dartmouth College in 1886. He graduated in 1890 with the degree of B. L. In 1897 he received the degree of A. M. from Dartmouth. From 1890 to 1892 he was Principal of the High School at Wahpeton, N. D., and from 1892 to 1896 Superintendent of Public Schools at Madelia, Minn. He then became Fellow in Political Science at Dartmouth College, a position which he still holds. Mr. Robinson is engaged upon the preparation of a "History of Taxation in New Hampshire."

Wake Forest College.—Dr. Enoch Walter Sikes has been appointed Professor of Political Science and History at Wake Forest College, N. C. Professor Sikes was born on May 19, 1868, in Union

County, N. C. He entered Wake Forest College in 1886 and graduated with the degree of A. M. in 1891. From 1891 to 1894 he was Instructor in History, Political Economy and Constitutional Government in that institution. He then entered Johns Hopkins University for post-graduate study and received the degree of Ph. D. in 1897. His writings have consisted of the following contributions to periodical literature:

"*Nathaniel Macon*," Charlotte Observer, April, 1896.

"*The Regulators*," Charlotte Observer, October, 1896.

"*Chinese Education*," Biblical Recorder, January, 1897.

"*Hebrew Education*," Biblical Recorder, March, 1897.

"*Influence of the Destruction of the Monasteries on Education*," Wake Forest Student, March, 1898.

"*The State and Education*" (Series of articles), Monroe Journal, 1894.

AUSTRIA.

Vienna.—Dr. Victor Mataja,* who formerly occupied the chair of Political Economy at Innsbruck, and who has in recent years been connected with the administrative service of Austria, in Vienna, has recently been appointed Honorary Professor of the University of Vienna. In recent years he has written:

"*Grossmagazin und Kleinhandel*." Leipzig, 1888.

"*Ueber Arbeitsvermittlung*." Wochenschrift des niederösterreichischen Gewerbevereins, Vienna, 1890.

"*Die Oesterreichische Währungsenquête*. Zeitschrift für Volkswirtschaft, Socialpolitik und Verwaltung, 1892.

"*Die Reform der directen Personalsteuern in Oesterreich*." Ibid., 1892.

"*Städtische Socialpolitik*." Ibid., 1894.

"*Die Anfänge des Arbeiterschutzes in Frankreich*. Ibid., 1896.

"*L'inspection du travail en France*." Revue d'économie politique, 1891.

"*Les grandes magasins et le petit commerce*." Ibid., 1891.

"*Le socialisme municipal*." Ibid., 1895.

"*Les origines de la protection ouvrière en France*." Ibid., 1896-97.

"*Die Statistik der Arbeitseinstellungen*." Conrad's Jahrbücher, 1897.

In Conrad's "Handwörterbuch," the following articles, "*Abzahlungsgeschäfte*," "*Arbeiterschutzgesetzgebung in Frankreich*," "*Arbeitseinstellungen in Frankreich*," "*Arbeitseinstellungen in Oesterreich*," "*Bastial*," "*Handel*," etc.

* See ANNALS, Vol. I, p. 139, July, 1890, and Vol. III, p. 810, May, 1893.

GERMANY.

Breslau.—The vacancy in the chair of Political Economy at Breslau, caused by Professor Elster's entrance into the administrative service in Berlin, has been filled by the appointment of Dr. Julius Wolf. He was born in Brünn, Austria, on April 20, 1862, and after completing university studies at Tübingen, was appointed in 1888 Ordinary Professor of Political Economy at Zürich. He has been a member of several Federal Commissions, as that of 1885-86, on the preparation of the alcohol monopoly; that of 1888-89, on the establishment of a federal school of legal and political science; and of 1891, on the reform of banks of issue. Professor Wolf has issued as editor the first number of a new periodical, the *Zeitschrift für Socialwissenschaft*, in January, 1898. He has published:

"*Die Branntweinsteuer.*" Tübingen, 1889.

"*Tatsachen und Aussichten der indischen Konkurrenz im Weizenhandel.*" 1886. (Translated into French.)

"*Die gegenwärtige Wirthschaftskrisis, Akademische Antrittsrede.*" 1888.

"*Zur Reform des schweizerischen Notenbankwesens.*" 1888.

"*Internationale Socialpolitik.*" 1889.

"*Eine eidgenössische Hochschule für Staats- und Rechtswissenschaft, Gulachten.*" 1889.

"*Socialismus und kapitalistische Gesellschaftsordnung.*" 1892.

"*Verstaatlichung der Silberproduktion und andere Vorschläge zur Währungsfrage.*" Zürich, 1892.

"*Die Arbeitslosigkeit und ihre Bekämpfung.*" Dresden, 1895.

"*Die Wohnungsfrage als Gegenstand der Socialpolitik.*" Jena, 1896.

"*Steuerreform im Kanton Zürich.*" Zürich, 1897.

"*Börsenreform in der Schweiz.*" Zürich, 1895.

Erlangen.—The distinguished publicist, Heinrich von Marquardsen, Professor of Public and International Law at the University of Erlangen, died in that city November 30, 1897. He was born at Schleswig, then capital of the Danish duchy, October 25, 1826. He pursued his university studies at Kiel and Heidelberg. At the latter university he became privatdocent, and obtained the title of extraordinary professor. In 1861 he was called to Erlangen, where he remained until his death. He was an active partisan of the National Liberal persuasion, and as such took a prominent part in the Nationalverein. He was one of the deputies of South Germany in the Customs Unions Parliament, a member of the Bavarian Diet and of the Reichstag

for a long series of years. In the latter he was a member of some of the most important committees.

In an active political life he found time for extensive literary labors. In 1852 he was one of the founders and editors of the *Kritische Zeitschrift für die gesammte Rechtswissenschaft*. He published numerous articles in the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, *Kölnische Zeitung*, *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, *Staatslexikon* of Rotteck and Welcker, and the *Staatswörterbuch* of Bluntschli. He took an active part in the affairs of the Institute of International Law. His chief literary undertaking was the editorship of the gigantic "*Handbuch des öffentlichen Rechtes der Gegenwart in Monographien*," which numbers among its contributors the most distinguished students of public law of recent times. Besides translating into German in 1880, Herbert Spencer's "Study of Sociology," he published:

"*Grundzüge des englischen Beweisrechts*" (Law of Evidence), 1851.

"*Haft und Bürgschaft bei den Angel-Sachsen*." 1852.

"*Der Trentfall, zur Lehre von der Kriegscontrebande und dem Transport der Neutralen*." 1863.

"*Das deutsche Pressgesetz vom 7ten Mai, 1874*." Kommentar, 1875.

Munich.—Dr. Walther Lotz,* Honorary Professor of Political Economy at the University of Munich, has recently been appointed an ordinary professor. With Professor Dr. L. Brentano he has edited the series entitled "*Münchener Volkswirtschaftliche Studien*," of which twenty-five numbers have been issued. His publications of recent date, other than briefer essays and reviews in various journals, are as follows:

"*Christenthum und Arbeiterfrage, Eine Zweigespräch*." Leipzig, 1891.

"*Die Ideen der deutschen Handelspolitik von 1860–91*." Leipzig, 1892. (Translated into Italian.)

"*The Monetary Situation in Germany*." ANNALS, Vol. IV, July, 1893.

"*Die drei Flugschriften über den Münzstreit der sächsischen Albertiner und Ernestiner um 1530*." Leipzig, 1893.

"*Die Lehre vom Ursprung des Geldes*." Conrad's Jahrbücher, 1894.

"*Die Ergebnisse der deutschen Silberenquête*." Schmoller's Jahrbuch, 1895.

"*Die Aufgabe der Binnenwasserstrasse im Zeitalter der Eisenbahnen*." Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung, 1895.

* See ANNALS, Vol. I, p. 149, July, 1890, and Vol. II, p. 257, September, 1891.

"*Die Börsenreform.*" Dresden, 1897.

Further in Conrad's "*Handwörterbuch,*" the articles "*Darlehnskassen,*" "*Diskonto und Diskontopolitik,*" "*Emissionsgeschäft.*"

Rostock.—Dr. Heinrich Geffcken has been appointed Extraordinary Professor of Public Law at the University of Rostock. He was born in Berlin, June 27, 1865, and received his early education at gymnasia in Strassburg and Freiburg. At Freiburg he began his university studies in 1885, continuing them at Leipzig and Berlin until 1891. The degree of Doctor of Philosophy was conferred upon him by the University of Leipzig in 1890, and that of Doctor Juris in 1892. In April, 1892, he became connected with the office of Municipal Archives of the city of Leipzig, and has continued in this service until March, 1898. In the year 1894 he became Privatdocent for German Law and Ecclesiastical Law at the University of Leipzig. In addition to numerous reviews in the *Zentralblatt für Rechtswissenschaft*, *Historische Zeitschrift*, *Kritische Vierteljahrschrift für Gesetzgebung und Rechtsprechung*, and other journals Professor Geffcken has written:

"*Die Krone und das niederdeutsche Kirchenrecht unter Kaiser Friedrich II (1210-1250),*" Pp. 115. Jena, 1890.

"*Zur älteste Geschichte und ehegerichtliche Praxis des Leipziger Consistoriums.*" Deutsche Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht, Vol. IV.

"*Zur Geschichte der Ehescheidung vor Gratian,*" Pp. 82. Leipzig, 1894.

"*Karl Immermann.*" Ein Gedenkbuch zu des Dichters 100. Geburtstag. Edited by Johannes Geffcken and Heinrich Geffcken. Hamburg, 1896.

"*Der germanische Ehebegriff.*" Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft. New Series, Vol. I.

"*Die heutige reichsrechtliche Geltung des kanonischen Rechtes von der Aufhebung des matrimonium non consummatum durch päpstliche Dispens und Eintritt in das Kloster.*" Deutsche Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht, Vol. VII.

"*Lex salica, herausgegeben und erläutert,*" Pp. 280. Leipzig, 1898,

"*Stiftungsbuch der Stadt Leipzig.*" (In press, about 500 pages.)

Tübingen.—Dr. Walter Troeltsch has been appointed Extraordinary Professor of Political Economy and Finance at the University of Tübingen. He was born July 6, 1866, at Mergelstetten, Württemberg, and received his school training at the gymnasium at Tübingen. His subsequent university studies were made at Munich, 1884-85; and later 1887-88; Tübingen, 1885-86; and Berlin, 1886-87. At Tübingen he received the degree of Doctor of Political Science in 1889. After spending some time, 1888-90, in Munich, as *referendar*, he returned

to Tübingen, where he pursued private studies, and became Privatdozent for Political Economy and Finance in 1891. His appointment as Extraordinary Professor came in December, 1897. Dr. Troeltsch has published:

"*Beiträge zur Finanzgeschichte Münchens im 18ten und 19ten Jahrhundert.*" Schanz' Finanzarchiv, 1890-93.

"*Montyclas Rechenschaftsbericht über die innere Verwaltung Bayerns.*" Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung, 1890.

"*Die bayerische Gemeindebesteuerung seit dem Anfang des 19ten Jahrhunderts,*" Pp. 145. Munich, 1891.

"*Getreidezoll und Identitätsnachweis.*" Annalen des Deutschen Reichs, 1892.

"*Die Wirkung der norddeutsche Staffeltarife für Getreide und Mehl auf Süddeutschland.*" Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung, 1894.

"*Zur neuesten Litteratur über Genossenschaftswesen.*" Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaften, 1895.

"*Die Goeppinger Zeugmacherei im 18ten Jahrhundert und das sog. Vayhingerbuch.*" Schmoller's Jahrbuch, 1896.

"*Die Calwer Zeughandlungscompagnie und ihre Arbeiter,*" Pp. 484. Jena, 1897.

Further in Conrad's "*Handwörterbuch,*" the articles, "*Mobiliarsteuern,*" "*Regalien,*" "*Einkommensteuer.*"

BOOK DEPARTMENT.

NOTES.

THE NUMBER OF good text-books devoted to American history which has lately appeared suggests the reflection that the interest in improving historical teaching in secondary schools has called forth books from those who by training and experience are supposed to know what such text-books should be. In the work of improving such teaching Harvard has taken a very important part, so that the "*Students' History of the United States*,"* by Professor Channing cannot fail to obtain a cordial reception. The effort at accuracy, and the comprehensiveness of portions of the work but reflect Professor Channing's well-known qualities. Especially to be commended is the introduction—"The Land and Its Resources"—in which the significant relations of history and geography are clearly described. The chapters on the pre-revolutionary period constitute the strongest part of the book, though it is to be regretted that Professor Channing did not emphasize the political and economic importance of the "middle" group of colonies in the movement for independence. The strategic position of those colonies was clearly understood by the New Englander and Virginian of 1776 and failure to show that position gives to the revolutionary struggle a false perspective. And when is the work of the 'rear-guard' of the Revolution to find its way into our accounts of the War for Independence? The struggles of the frontiersmen to save the Ohio Valley for the young republic find no place in these pages beside the "Boston Massacre."

In describing the period between 1816 and 1860, Professor Channing brings out the economic and social changes with more fullness than is customary in the conventional text-book. But one is impressed with the fact that the colonial period is familiar ground to Professor Channing and that the period between the War of 1812 and the Rebellion is not. The facts are there, maps in abundance, excellent illustrations and serviceable bibliographies, but the spirit is absent which vivifies and gives distinction to an historical period so full of interesting social and political changes. That so bulky a book can be of use as a text-book in secondary schools is to be

* *Students' History of the United States*. By EDWARD CHANNING, Professor of History in Harvard University. Pp. xxxix, 603. Price, \$1.40. London and New York: The Macmillan Co., 1898.

doubted. But for teachers in those schools, and perhaps in colleges too, and for college students, the book is decidedly a great improvement upon those now in use.*

A MONOGRAPH ON "State Tax Commissions in the United States,"† by Dr. James W. Chapman, has recently been issued in the Johns Hopkins University Series. Following a brief sketch of colonial and state systems of taxation in this country, the author discusses in his second chapter the various causes which have contributed to the creation of tax commissions and the composition, methods and powers of these bodies. The later chapters of the work contain a detailed analysis of the reports of the twenty-seven commissions appointed at different periods by fourteen of the states and the District of Columbia. The description of existing conditions given in each report is tabulated in an appendix at the close of the monograph, to which is added a bibliography. The monograph thus furnishes a general view of taxation in the states treated and brings out the points of resemblance which these systems present. The same evils seem to be found in all of them, strengthened in many cases by bad laws and vicious methods of administration. Every commission calls attention to such glaring defects as undervaluation, evasion of personal property taxes, exemption of railways from their fair proportion of burdens, the laxness of assessors, and the absence of efficient supervision. The two important services which the author credits to the commissions are: first, that they have made valuable contributions to the literature of public finance; and, secondly, that they have assisted state legislatures to carry out needed reforms.

"AMERICAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO CIVILIZATION"‡ is the appropriate title selected by President Eliot, of Harvard, for a volume in which are brought together some eighteen of the miscellaneous addresses and essays which he has delivered or published during the last twenty-five years of his busy and many-sided life. Another volume, giving a permanent form to his educational essays and addresses, is promised in the near future.

The present volume well illustrates the broad interests and happy

* Contributed by Professor John L. Stewart.

† *State Tax Commissions in the United States*. By JAMES W. CHAPMAN. Pp. 114. Price, 50 cents. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1897.

‡ *American Contributions to Civilization and Other Essays and Addresses*. By CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT, LL. D. Pp. 387. Price, \$2.00. New York: The Century Company, 1897.

versatility of the author. He writes with equal force and fluency on "Some Reasons Why the American Republic May Endure" and "The Working of the American Democracy," "The Forgotten Millions" and "The Exemption from Taxation." His characterization of the "Present Disadvantages of Rich Men" supplements well what he says of "The Happy Life." His discussion of the "Future of New England Churches" and explanation of "Why We Honour the Puritans" are only less suggestive than his analysis of the points "Wherein Popular Education Has Failed" and his "One Remedy for Municipal Misgovernment." All of these essays and addresses are so good that it would be invidious to single out special ones for comment. They present food for students of politics and economics, even of philosophy and religion. Here is given the ripe thought of a scholar-citizen on those problems which have interested scholars and citizens in this country during the last quarter of a century. Every side of life touched upon is shown to have its peculiar place in that great onward sweep of American civilization to the progress of which the author, as head of the greatest educational institution in the country, has made such signal contributions. The volume concludes appropriately with the inscriptions which President Eliot composed for the Watergate at the World's Fair and for the Soldiers' and Shaw monuments on Boston Common.

A SHORT MONOGRAPH on "The Charters of the City of Chicago,"* has just been published by Professor Edmund J. James, President of the Academy. The present number contains the early charters, and will be followed by another containing the more recent ones. As is the case with most, if not all, American cities, the early charters provided a form of city government in which the council was the dominant power. As is pointed out in the introduction, "Chicago began its career as a council-ruled and council-organized city; that is, the entire power of the corporation both for organization and administration was practically vested in the council. The mayor and other officials were, so to speak, mere agents of the council, subject in nearly all respects to its orders and ordinances." From a study of the successive charters one can easily trace the gradual decline of the power of the council. To those interested in the organization of city government the serial publication of charters furnishes the best outline of American municipal history.

* *The Charters of the City of Chicago*, By EDMUND J. JAMES, Ph. D. Part I. *The Early Charters, 1833-1837*. Pp. 76. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1898.

PROFESSOR MEITZEN HAS given in his "*Flur Thalheim*"* a characteristic specimen of German thoroughness and detailed research. His great work on agrarian history has already, in the volumes which have appeared, included generalizations that cover long stretches of time and space; here he gives a minute examination to the distribution and organization of landholding in a single village in the extreme southeast of Europe. This includes a careful description of the position, population and size of the village; and an analysis of the possession of its widely scattered and intermingled pieces of farming and pasture land, according to a survey made between the year 1854 and 1862, with comparisons from a description written in 1721. The number, size and ownership of these pieces of land are tabulated in some twelve closely printed pages, besides which there are two maps or plans. This analysis shows the arable land of the village to be cultivated in thirty-five different divisions or *gewanne*. In each of these there are from twelve to forty-five separately owned pieces of land, so that there are upward of a thousand portions of land to be accounted for. Of the eighty-four farming households which make up the village some have pieces in but one or two of the *gewanne*, others in as many as six or eight; though in all cases one farmer will possess a considerable number of scattered pieces. The village arable land, therefore, represents rather an extreme instance of the intermingled strip system. The pasture land is much of it similarly sub-divided.

Professor Meitzen's excuse for this degree of technical detail is the same as that used in his larger work; that in cases where no alien institutions have been forcibly impressed upon the soil, and where a powerful government has not deliberately intervened to change boundaries, the distribution of occupancy of the soil gives us our most valuable key to the earliest history of any race. Such an examination, in the present case, leads to the belief that *Thalheim* represents an original settlement of Saxons from Rhenish Franconia, and that the early description of the Teutonic colonists of Transylvania or *Flandreuses* is not correct.

THE LITERATURE OF socialism in Europe has recently been enriched by several works which deserve commendation for the impartial way in which they present the claims of a socialistic organization of society. One of the latest of these is from the pen of Georges Renard, Professor at the University of Lausanne, entitled

* *Die Flur Thalheim als Beispiel der Ortsanlage und Feldeintheilung im Siebenbürger Sachsenlande*. By AUGUST MEITZEN. Pp. 44. Hermannstadt: W. Kraß, 1897.

'*Le Régime Socialiste*.'* The object of this book is to present a constructive defence of socialism. It is divided into three parts, treating respectively of "General Principles," "Political Organization" and "Economic Organization." The principal contention of the author in the first part is that, far from conducing to real individual liberty, our present régime of economic freedom makes such liberty impossible. The only remedy for the present lack of individual liberty is, he believes, to be found in socialism. The details of the socialistic régime which he outlines are too complicated to be described at length. One of the most interesting features of his plan is a device by which an adequate supply of labor might be secured for each department of production by making the remuneration correspond accurately to the disagreeableness of the labor involved. Having decided how much wealth of different kinds the interests of the socialistic community requires and having estimated the number of hours of labor of different kinds involved in the production of this wealth, a remuneration is to be given to those who supply the labor corresponding to the number who choose the particular occupation in proportion to the work to be done, in comparison to the number choosing other occupations in proportion to the work therein required. As to all plans which refer to systems of organization which have never been tried, numerous difficulties and objections suggest themselves. The candor with which the author faces the problem of constructive socialism which so many of his companions in faith ignore, however, merits the highest respect.

PROFESSOR SIDNEY SHERWOOD has made a valuable contribution to the history of economic theories in his "Tendencies in American Economic Thought."† On the basis of monographs on early American economists, prepared by his own students and of original research, he presents a very clear and concise account of the additions and emendations to accepted English economic theories which proceeded from America. The brevity of his essay suggests the reflection that American contributions to economic science have been slight, a fact which the author explains on the ground that the very ease with which we, as a people, have acquired wealth has discouraged us from speculating very much about it. He divides his essay into nine sections, taking up in turn such topics

* *Bibliothèque de Philosophie Contemporaine*. Pp. 188. Price, 2 fr. 50. Paris: Felix Alcan, 1898.

† Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science. Fifteenth Series, No. xii. Pp. 42. Price, 25c. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1897.

as "Protection," "Malthusianism and Rent," "Capital," "Wages and the Wages-Fund," "Economic Progress," etc. In connection with his discussion of protection he points out that the modern scientific arguments for this policy sprang from American soil. Not only Carey and Rae, but also Friedrich List, were converted to protectionism by American conditions. The same peculiar conditions have led to a modification of the extreme views that were held in England down to the middle of the century in regard to the hopeless opposition between the reproductive tendencies of man and the productive tendencies of nature directed by man. In discussing "The Individual in Relation to the State" the author points out that our extreme individualism is but skin deep. "Equality of opportunity" he considers the real American creed, and he concludes, "if the masses of the American people ever become convinced that the only way to preserve equality and freedom of economic opportunity is through the public assumption of the industries now managed by the 'trusts,' no country in the world will swing into state control with greater rapidity and decision."

MR. JAMES M. SWANK, who has been secretary and general manager of the American Iron and Steel Association since 1872, has recently published a volume of "Notes and Comments,"* in which he has brought together some of the editorial observations with which he has accompanied the publications of the Iron and Steel Association during the last twenty-five years. The book is divided into thirty chapters treating of topics so diverse as "The Hopeless Poor of Great Britain" and "Alexander Hamilton," "Abandoned New England Homes" and "How Schuyler Colfax Rose to be Vice-President." The author is an ardent protectionist, and it is the advocacy of this policy that gives a certain unity to his book. He has enjoyed unusual opportunities for noting the industrial expansion of this country during the last quarter of a century and the chapters in which he presents this historical material, such as that on the "Development of Iron and Steel Industries Since 1860" and the "Early History of Pittsburg" contain valuable information.

PROFESSOR JULIUS WOLF, of Breslau, has launched a new periodical, the *Zeitschrift für Socialwissenschaft*,† the first number of which is dated January, 1898. The appearance of a new periodical

* *Notes and Comments on Industrial, Economic, Political and Historical Subjects.* By JAMES M. SWANK. Pp. xl, 228. Price, \$2. Philadelphia: American Iron and Steel Association, 1897.

† Published by George Reimer, Anhaltstrasse 12, Berlin. Monthly. 16 marks per annum.

in the field of the social sciences may well arouse some misgivings. Many feel that the field is already overcrowded, and are doubtful whether new ventures will in fact find a scope for such useful activity as will justify their existence. Dr. Wolf gives in his first issue fair promise that his journal may not prove an unwelcome intruder, but rather an acceptable addition to the organs of scientific thought. He hopes to avoid both scientific dullness and the emptiness of pseudo-science, and yet to appeal to the educated public in general and not merely to the specialist. The field to be covered embraces all of the social sciences, and the editor explains that he intends to bring to the attention of his readers investigations in kindred subjects calculated to throw some light on social problems. On the whole, the somewhat difficult program mapped out in the editorial introduction is carried out with marked success in the first issue.

REVIEWS.

La Crise agricole, Exposé didactique de ses Origines monétaires.

By M. ALPH. ALLARD. Délégué du Gouvernement Belge au Congrès international d'agriculture de Buda Pesth. Pp. 240. Brussels: Société Belge de Librairie, 1896.

This little book is an essay presented, as its title indicates, at the international congress of agriculture at Buda Pesth in 1896. It is a plea for bimetallism by one whose ardor and evident sincerity lend piquancy of form to familiar facts and arguments.

M. Allard starts out to prove that the agricultural depression of the past few years has been due to the demonetization of silver. It is not necessary to follow his argument in detail. In spirit and form it is polemical, not scientific. It might well have been a political speech by a free silver advocate in our last national campaign. Prices have fallen; scarcity of money is the cause; that scarcity is due to the demonetization of silver; the fall of prices of agricultural products has been greater than that of other products; therefore prices should be raised and the only remedy is "*le bimetallisme par entente internationale*." The great defect of M. Allard's argument is the common one of the inflationist—his "*post hoc*" are too generally accredited "*propter hoc*." He is too intent on proving his point to be dispassionate and judicial. As examples of his looseness of statement we may note: (1) Three-fourths of the workers of a country are engaged in agriculture. I have not the figures of the last census at hand, but Mr. Atkinson gives for the United States 7,700,000 engaged in agriculture, out of a total of 17,400,000 in all occupations in 1880; (2) after quoting Roscher's statement that

under a double standard the fluctuations of the *value* of money are less in amount, M. Allard remarks that this is the same as saying that the *production* of the two metals is steadier than that of either alone. His own figures prove the contrary; (3) M. Allard is a believer in the "quantity theory" in its crudest form, but he is not consistent in his statement of it. Prices, he tells us on page 94, are determined by the relation between number and quantity of exchanges and the amount of means of exchange, metallic and credit instruments, having due regard to rapidity of circulation. On the preceding page we read that to maintain prices goods and money must change *in the same proportion*; and, ten pages farther on, that "*c'est une erreur flagrante*" to suppose that credit instruments increase the quantity of money any more than photographs increase population. Finally, on page 102, we find the remarkable statement that the scarcity of gold is proved by the premium thereon in countries using inconvertible paper, as shown by the exchanges.

The author's effort to prove special loss to agriculture on account of the demonetization of silver is no happier than is his main argument. Wheat fell, he says, 55 per cent between 1874 and 1889; hence a loss of that proportion to the farmer. The statement is not a fair account of the facts. The cost of transportation, in this country at least, fell 75 per cent at the same time. Was no part of the fall in wheat due to that? On page 147 we read of the increase of the wheat crop of Argentina between 1887 and 1894, from 2,250,000 quarters to 9,894,000. It is well known that the wheat product of the world has, on the whole, largely increased of late years, yet on page 152 we are informed that there was no increase between 1885 and 1892. This on the authority of Mr. J. F. Shaforth of Colorado!

The following will be interesting to New Yorkers: "*Les Etats-Unis tiennent New York en profonde abomination!*" and I suppose this coat fits some of us: "*Les Américains du Nord qui ne sont pas des imbéciles ont bien vite compris cette lutte ouverte par les financiers et la haute Banque.*"

But further comment is unnecessary. For so ardent a partisan, M. Allard's work is in excellent temper. It may not be inappropriate to commend to his attention: (1) That no method of restoring prices is likely to succeed unless it has some relation to the causes of the fall; (2) that despite the love which he says the people of the United States have for silver, Mr. McKinley was elected; (3) that the Wolcott mission failed and India has refused to reopen her mints to silver; and yet (4) that, writing of the agricultural exports and imports of this country, "of the eighty-five items for which an

average export price for the five months ended November 30, 1897, was available, fifty show an increase over the average price for the fiscal year preceding, while sixty-four out of one hundred and three imported items show a similar increase." Yet silver was still falling.

DAVID KINLEY.

University of Illinois.

The Encyclopedia of Social Reform, including Political Economy, Political Science, Sociology and Statistics, covering Anarchism, Charities, Civil Service, Currency, Land and Legislation Reform, Penology, Socialism, Social Purity, Trades Unions, Woman Suffrage, etc. Edited by WM. D. P. BLISS, with the co-operation of many specialists. Pp. viii, 1439. Price, \$7.50. New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1897.

This work undertakes to cover a wide field, and to meet the demand for a carefully edited and scholarly book of its kind which undoubtedly exists in the United States. We have in the English language the Palgrave "Dictionary of Political Economy," about to be completed with the issue of the third volume, but this covers a more limited field and is a somewhat bulkier work than the Bliss "Encyclopedia." In German there is the invaluable "*Handwörterbuch*" by Conrad and others, the eighth volume of which has just appeared. The "*Nouveau Dictionnaire*" in French is very conservative, but scholarly so far as it goes. It may seem unfair to compare Bliss' effusion with such works prepared at great expense by the ablest specialists who assume individually responsibility for the special parts of the work contributed by them. It would be unfair were it not for two facts: first, the claims of the Bliss "Encyclopedia" which are calculated to deceive the unsuspecting reader; and secondly, the fact that if we are true to any scholarly ideal at all we must admit that a brief treatment of the topics considered in this book in the present uncertain state of knowledge demands even greater pains, skill and scholarship than the longer monographs and paragraphs found in the larger dictionaries if the general reader is to be given *fair* impressions.

Nothing is lacking in the claims made by this "Encyclopedia" for its own trustworthiness. On the title-page we read that the co-operation of many specialists includes among others—then follows twenty-three names, at least twelve of which would carry great weight in any article for which definite responsibility was assumed. There are here, however, at the outset traces of the careless editing which characterizes the whole work. One of these names is misspelled on the title-page and again on page vi, though it appears

correctly as a signature to the single article contributed by that gentleman. In the list of contributors or revisers of articles, I note two misstatements concerning the positions occupied by the gentlemen in question. More serious, however, is the fact that the support which these names give the work is wholly misleading. At most they seem to have revised only a few articles and with few exceptions have contributed nothing for which they stand personally responsible. The articles thus signed and revised constitute but a fraction of one per cent of all the articles that appear in the volume. Yet we read in the preface that "the two main requisites of an encyclopedia are reliability and serviceableness in information," and that "the first of these requisites has been sought in this 'Encyclopedia' by having every article either written or revised by some specialist on each particular subject." Who are these specialists who have revised or written 99 per cent of the articles? Apparently not the names which are used upon the title-page to bolster up and advertise the book. Of that fact the character of most of the work is convincing proof.

The first errors to which I must call attention are mistakes of judgment on the part of the editor. There is no index which will serve as a general cross reference finding list to enable anyone to get at all the articles relating to any given topic. There are few cross references in the articles themselves or in the body of the book. Many articles are poorly indexed. For example, I looked for something on national workshops. There is no reference under national workshops, or the word workshops, to the fact that these are discussed under the very unusual term in English literature of "*ateliers nationaux*." A clue to this reference is found by reading the article on Louis Blanc. Under social settlements there is nothing at all to indicate that there is an article entitled Women's College Settlements under the letter W, and an article on University Settlements, neither of which articles contain any cross reference to the other. The term college settlement is indexed with a reference to women's college settlements, else I should never have thought of looking there, but does not hint at the idea that one should also look up university settlements in order to get full information on this subject. Inasmuch as one generally uses such an encyclopedia to get information on subjects with which he is not familiar, these defects are the more serious and the danger of getting distorted views of subjects the greater if he relies on this source for reference. If space permitted, I could enumerate many other instances, for scarcely in a single case have I found this volume a thoroughly satisfactory or reliable guide.

The content of the articles is, as a rule, likewise unsatisfactory and misleading. There is no idea of proportion or relative importance in the topics treated. This is particularly true of the biographical sketches. Even the leading articles, such as the one on political economy, seem to be constructed on the plan of putting together by a patchwork system anything that could be easily obtained. It is a sort of junk shop of notes from various good sources, but not put together so as to give any adequate view of the theory or history of the subject. In the section on Austrian economists no adequate reference is made to the important work of von Wieser nor to the English form of these theories in the writings of Smart. A Russian correspondent calls my attention to misstatements concerning economics in Russia. He speaks of receiving the "Encyclopedia," and says: "I opened to the article on political economy in Russia and read: 'Among the most prominent (of Russian economists) today are Sieber and Alex. von Oettingen.' Sieber is dead long ago and A. v. O. was (now long ago retired; he is seventy-five years old) a clergyman, professor of evangelical theology in University of Dorpat, a German and not an economist at all."

I wish there were another side to this book. I have not searched simply for defects, but would gladly point out excellencies. The title is so attractive, the demand so great among busy clergymen, professional men of all classes and general readers for a good work of this scope that American scholarship should furnish something better, vastly better than Mr. Bliss has been able to do. Money and time will be in most cases worse than wasted for those who get this "Encyclopedia" with any idea of relying on it for purposes of general reference.

SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY.

L'Évolution française sous la Troisième République. By PIERRE DE COUBERTIN. Pp. xx, 427. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie, 1896.

The Evolution of France under the Third Republic. By BARON PIERRE DE COUBERTIN. Translated from the French by ISABEL F. HAPGOOD. Authorized Edition with special Preface and Additions and Introduction by Dr. ALBERT SHAW. Pp. 471. Price, \$3.00. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1897.

The development of France under its republican form of government during the last quarter of a century is a theme of such paramount importance and fascinating possibilities that M. de Coubertin's opening apology for undertaking the task may be looked upon as unnecessary, except as a graceful confession of diffidence. There is

certainly abundant material, of undoubted historical weight and unimpeachable authenticity, to fill dozens of volumes of the size of the one he has given us. As he points out, contemporaneous writers have a distinct advantage over the historian who enjoys only a distant view. De Tocqueville and Mr. Bryce have abundantly proved that the *recul de l'âge* is not essential to the most profound and helpful estimates of human conditions. While they passed their judgment upon foreign peoples, M. Coubertin has, with extraordinary openness of mind and a just appreciation, peculiarly French, of the eternal fitness of things, succeeded in discovering and describing the salient traits of his own nation's history in the immediate past.

A half, perhaps two-thirds, of M. de Coubertin's volume is devoted to the political and parliamentary history. All uncalled-for detail is omitted and the various crises through which the republic has passed are clearly explained. His characterizations of leading men appeal to the reader as just and sympathetic though necessarily brief. Thiers, MacMahon, Jules Ferry, Gambetta, Carnot and the rest, appear before us with something of the vividness of reality. Poor Bismarck, however, is represented as possessing but scanty virtue and insight, and evidently does not receive his due meed of praise. He was assuredly not the second-rate statesman here described.

Following the sketch of political and constitutional development, are excellent and deeply interesting chapters on "The Republic and the Church," "Education," "The Nation in Arms," "*Les Idées et les Mœurs*," and "The Social Question." The writer has evidently given especial attention to the educational problems of France and admirably describes the spirit and results of the far-reaching educational reforms that have been carried out during the last twenty-five years. But he declares that the tendency to assign a pedagogical rôle to the state seems to be increasing in spite of an apparent emancipation of the schools and universities from government control.

The discussion of the immorality of French literature since the time of Alfred de Musset, and its effects upon the nation, will doubtless enlist the interest of some who may not be attracted by the political events described. No one could bring a graver charge against the writers of the last half-century than M. de Coubertin. He does not blink the facts nor extenuate the offence. He believes, however, that family life in France is still sweet and wholesome and the influence of woman potent for good. After the vivid portrayal of the libertine literature, its universal propagation and its vitiating influence in school and newspaper, the abrupt statement

that the Frenchman is renouncing his evil pleasures, entering, if regretfully, the straight path, and that *sa vie s'eclaircie et se régularise*, comes rather as a pious wish than as a demonstrated fact. We cannot but be reminded of the classical mistake of Mansel, who, in his anxiety to be fair, presented the case for atheism so strongly that he never succeeded in satisfactorily refuting his own supposititious arguments.

The volume as a whole must be looked upon as a little esoteric. It was written for Frenchmen and a very considerable knowledge of French affairs is presupposed. Many allusions, and even much of the solid instruction that the book contains, will be lost for the average American reader. This is, of course, in no way the fault of M. de Coubertin, but might have been remedied, to some extent, by a more intelligent translation and the addition of a few foot-notes. An adequate translation was, however, almost out of the question. The author's style has a distinctly literary quality, that could not be reproduced in English unless, perhaps, by the most skillful hand. He intersperses his own sentiments with epigrammatic quotations and current political turns of speech that are often hopelessly untranslatable. And if these difficulties were successfully met, many a strictly technical term in the administrative and legal vocabulary of France would remain, which has no exact equivalent in our quite different organization. But making due allowance for all these embarrassments, the translator proves herself far below the most modest standard of excellence. No one can turn to the English version without feeling not only its infelicity but its inadequacy and frequent gross perversions of sense. It would be a thankless task to enumerate the mistakes in even a single chapter. There are four palpable errors on one page of the preface. *La chose publique* is happily rendered, "the public thing." We find the contradictory assertion, "The Third Republic . . . has repudiated none of the national traditions; she has *reversed* them in more than one instance." *Reprises* here, of course, means exactly the opposite of *reverse*. *Tout le monde* is "all the world" to the translator, although *tout le monde* knows better. The priests of France are, according to M. de Coubertin, *infiniment respectables*. This need hardly be translated "infinitely respectable." Emperor William II. complained that the French were not ready to return *le coup de chapeau qu'il leur donnait*. This becomes a "bow" in English. Can we picture that military spine relaxing into a civilian salute? In speaking of the hesitation of the courts of Europe to join with France in celebrating the anniversary of 1789, the author says: *Elle [l'Europe] pressentait vaguement la théorie du "bloc," que M. Clem-*

ceau formula dans la suite. What could be more absurd to one familiar with the incident than the rendering "she was vaguely conscious of the 'lump' which M. Clemenceau put into words later on." When the translator meets a particularly happy or subtle turn of expression she adopts one of two equally faulty plans of action; she either translates with the stupid literalness of an indolent school girl, or she kills the sentence by an insipid paraphrase. The English edition possesses a single advantage among all its drawbacks, it contains really fine portraits of the eminent men of the period, while the French original is not illustrated.

JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON.

Columbia University.

The Bargain Theory of Wages: A Critical Development from the Historic Theories, together with an Examination of Certain Wages Factors: the Mobility of Labor, Trade Unionism and the Methods of Industrial Remuneration. By JOHN DAVIDSON, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Political Economy in the University of New Brunswick. Pp. viii, 319. Price, \$1.50. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1898.

The purpose of this book, says its author, is to furnish a text-book for advanced students. It "is the outcome of the attempts of the writer, during five years, to analyze the wages question, historically as well as theoretically." He makes claim to having reached in the Bargain Theory a satisfactory reconciliation of the important previous theories.

The historical development of the theory of wages is summed up in three systems, the Subsistence Theory, the Wages-Fund Theory and the Productivity-of-Labor Theory. The general thesis is maintained that each of these attempts to explain wages is founded upon conditions actually existing at the time when the theory prevailed and that therefore all three theories are relatively true. But the writer finds it no less true that each of the three theories is incomplete. Hence the need for a synthesis—the result of which is the Bargain Theory.

Under the title Subsistence Theory are grouped the "Theory of Natural Wages, the Ricardian Theory, the Iron Law of Wages, the Standard-of-Comfort Theory and the Doctrine of a Living Wage." The truth in this theory was in emphasizing the fact that there was a minimum below which wages could not fall and industry continue. Its inadequacy is shown in its failure to explain why market wages remain often above this minimum.

The essential doctrine of the wages fund theory was that "wages

depended at any moment on the proportion of the amount of food or capital to the number of laborers in the community." This, he says, is but an easy step from the subsistence theory. The pessimistic probability of the latter, when the Malthusian point of view is taken, is transformed into an optimistic possibility. Instead of grinding pressure toward the physical minimum-of-subsistence wage, there exists a possible plenty for the laborer through the growth of capital. The scientific truth of this theory, Professor Davidson declares, is in the fact that the source and limit of *real* wages are found in the amount of existing consumable commodities—an amount pre-determined. Its weakness is in its presentation of wages as directly limited by the amount of money set apart by the employer for the payment of wages—which is not a fact at all.

Perhaps the strongest chapter in the book is the one dealing with the Productivity-of-Labor Theory, a chapter of high critical merit. The conclusion reached is that while high wages and high efficiency go together as a rule it cannot be shown that the efficiency is the direct cause and accurate measure of the high wages. Distributive return is by no means proportionate to productive contribution.

The synthesis of these theories is accomplished in the following way: "The subsistence theory is . . . a theory of the supply price of labor. . . . The productivity theory amounts to an unqualified assertion of the demand price as the determinant of wages. . . . The wages-fund theory is a reconciliation of these two theories," but its "fundamental error consists in treating both supply and demand as fixed quantities."

The truth is, however, that neither supply nor demand is fixed, but the "price of labor is determined somewhere between two estimates placed upon it—the estimate of the employer and the estimate of the laborer." The laborer's estimate is based upon the interaction of the two forces, utility and disutility of labor to him, while the employer's estimate depends on the indirect utilities afforded by the discount value of the product of the labor. In the fixing of these two estimates, the minimum and the maximum limits of wages, the previous theories all find a partial justification.

The actual determination of wages between these limits depends on the relative strength of the laborer and employer as bargainers. This relative strength in bargaining is the result of many conditions.

Most of the contentions of the author in regard to the determination of wages within these limits may be granted. But the doubt still sticks whether they make any vital contribution to the theory of wages.

What the author calls the Bargain Theory of Wages seems to deal with superficial forces, incidents which at the moment simply determine this or that minor movement in the rate of wages. The radical industrial forces, like the cost of subsistence and the efficiency of labor which furnish the basis of the older theories, are of far greater importance. The reconciliation between these older theories which Professor Davidson attempts is, after all, only on the surface.

In making this attempt, however, he has constructed a suggestive and enlightening review, at once historical and critical, of the development of the theory of wages. The chapters on mobility of labor and trades unions which follow the treatment of the main plan are excellent and bring out with admirable clearness the essential complexity of the wages problem.

The book, moreover, abounds in suggestion and comment, based on experience and observation of the concrete facts of common economic life. In the hands of an alert and thoughtful teacher it will prove an excellent text-book.

SIDNEY SHERWOOD.

Johns Hopkins University.

Select Documents Illustrative of the History of the United States, 1776-1861. Edited with Notes by WILLIAM MACDONALD, Professor of History and Political Science in Bowdoin College. Pp. xiii, 465. Price, \$2.25. New York and London: The Macmillan Company, 1898.

The great change which has taken place in the methods of teaching history within recent years, not only in the leading universities and colleges, but also in the secondary schools, and which is reflected in the conferences and reports of various educational and historical associations, has awakened a growing demand for modern text-books and convenient collections of the "sources." The recent report of the Committee of Seven of the American Historical Association emphasized the importance of the judicious use of the sources as illustrative material, for the purpose of "vivifying and vitalizing" the period studied. All progressive teachers must already have realized for themselves the peculiar force of this recommendation as applied to the study of American history, hence they will welcome Professor MacDonald's collection of documents, the latest addition to the rapidly increasing library of sources.

This work does not supplant, but for the most part supplements, the collections already published. A comparison with the two chief hand-books of sources in American history will make this

apparent: Preston's "Documents" draws nearly two-thirds of its selections from the period prior to 1776, a period not included in Professor MacDonald's collection, while the series edited by Professor Hart, entitled "History as Told by Contemporaries," the second volume of which has just appeared, covers the general life of the people, and is not, like this work, restricted to particular phases of our history. In a volume of some four hundred and fifty pages Professor MacDonald has brought together the texts of ninety-seven documents, selected from the period 1776 to 1861, of which, all save the first four, fall within the period subsequent to the adoption of the constitution. This collection is primarily designed for class use. Each document is prefaced by a concise but clear and helpful introduction, tracing its history and supplemented by a select bibliography. The editor states that he has been at especial pains to insure the accuracy of the text, and as far as we have been able to verify the selections, the printed page establishes his claim. The material presented in the volume is limited to documents illustrative of the political and constitutional history of the country, to the exclusion even of platforms of political parties, decisions of the Supreme Court, save the Dred-Scott case, and speeches either in or out of congress, except the Webster-Hayne debate. An analysis of the contents of the volume shows that fully one-third of the selections consist of statutes (23) and treaties (10) of the federal government, nearly another third include either messages of the presidents or reports of some one of the executive departments (28), while the remainder are divided between congressional (18) and state (10) documents, with a few extracts miscellaneous in character.

The selections seem to have been carefully and judiciously made. The volume includes the greater number of the most important documents, representative of the various phases of our political and constitutional history, during the period covered. All must agree that the editor's hope "that no document has been included which a serious student of the period can afford to neglect" has been realized. His faults, if any, are of omission rather than of commission. Professor MacDonald has in large measure forestalled adverse criticism in this particular by pleading "the necessity of keeping the volume within reasonable bounds." It may seem an ungracious act to criticise unfavorably one who has placed all students of American history under obligation by providing them with a handy volume containing so much of value within such reasonable limits, however we cannot but regret that the selection of state documents was not enriched by including other resolutions and acts of the various states, illustrating other phases of the contest between

the National and State Rights parties, the broad and strict constructionists and the pro- and anti-slavery men. Our regret is especially keen as several of these, which throw a flood of light upon the political situation of the times, are either not well known or not as accessible as is to be desired. Such, for example, are: the resolutions of the legislature of Massachusetts suggested by the annexation of Louisiana in 1803; the action of Pennsylvania calling for an impartial tribunal to try disputes between the federal and state governments, growing out of the Gideon Olmstead case; the resolutions of Pennsylvania, Ohio and other states (1811-12, 1819-21) against the constitutionality of the United States Bank; the resolutions of several of the Southern States (1826-30) declaring federal aid to internal improvements within a state unconstitutional; the resolutions of Ohio and at least seven other states (1823-25) favorable to the colonization and gradual emancipation of the slaves and the replies of Georgia and other Gulf states inimical to federal aid to colonization societies; the defiant resolutions of Georgia in connection with the Creek and Cherokee question; the call for a constitutional convention by South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama (1832-33); the strong State Rights resolutions of Massachusetts and Maine over the North-East boundary question (1830-32) and of Massachusetts relative to slavery and the annexation of Texas (1843-45), together with the counter-resolutions of the Slave States; the resolutions of positive nullification and defiance passed by the legislature of Wisconsin in 1859 in reply to the ruling of the Supreme Court in the case of *Ableman vs. Booth*; and, finally, South Carolina's Declaration of Independence in justification of the Ordinance of Secession. If necessary to secure the required space for these and similar papers, we think the editor would have been justified in omitting the four documents of the preconstitutional period, inasmuch as they are already universally accessible.

In general it may be said that the volume has been carefully planned and successfully executed. The collection, while made up of documents neither "new" nor "rare," will without doubt prove a veritable boon to those who cannot have access to a large library, and a great convenience to all students of American history.

HERMAN V. AMES.

University of Pennsylvania.

The History of South Carolina Under the Proprietary Government, 1670-1719. By EDWARD MCCRADY. Pp. xi, 762. Price, \$3.50. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1897.

This is the beginning of what bids fair to be one of the best of

our state histories. Mr. McCrady (p. 14) promises to follow this volume with the further history of the Palmetto State to the close of the American Revolution. We trust he will not stop there. No state needs to have her history written more than South Carolina, and no one is so well fitted to write that history as our author. Too many of our historical writers are too timorous or too little alive to the importance of the history of the various portions of the Union under the federal constitution and so stop their work too soon. South Carolina's history should be written down to the close of the reconstruction period in 1876, and though we should probably disagree with many things Mr. McCrady would write in the later portion of the work, we are anxious to see him undertake the task. It would be a most valuable treatise for the student of American history and politics.

This volume begins with an introductory chapter which contains the most luminous description of South Carolina's characteristics yet written and a series of interesting "evaluations" of the earlier works on the history of the state. Then follows a chronological narration and discussion of the events in the Palatinate's history, down to its becoming a crown colony. The contemporary events in England are clearly kept in mind, economic, social and religious history is not forgotten and the whole is told us in a clear and pleasant style.

The book is well indexed and there is an interesting reproduction of an old map as a frontispiece. In the next volume, I trust we may see an accurate modern map with the important places located. The appendices are most valuable. We rejoice to find a clue to that tangled web, the "Devolution of Title of the Proprietary Shares in Carolina" and so satisfactory a clue as is here given. There are most useful lists of the law officers, of Proprietary Governors, of Palatines, Landgraves, and Caciques in that complicated house of aristocracy that Locke devised. Other lists are of value, giving the returns of population, of the importation of negroes, and of the number of vessels entered.

The importance of the history of South Carolina is shown in the first paragraph of the work, which rightfully claims for that state a record of equal prominence with that of Virginia and Massachusetts. Through its great stream of emigration westward, South Carolina, in General Francis A. Walker's words, "was a beehive, from which swarms were continually going forth to populate the newer cotton-growing states." The separation of South Carolina from the other colonies is clearly pointed out. We are so accustomed to think of Virginia and South Carolina together as Southern States, that we

are almost startled to have it brought to our notice, that the latter was nearly as far from Virginia as Massachusetts was, and that navigation across the ocean to England was nearly as safe as that around the dangerous North Carolina coast to Virginia. The colony was an outpost, separated far from the other English settlements and almost within striking distance of the Spanish settlements in Florida. It was far more akin to the insular than to the continental colonies in climate, in people, in production, in its social life. It was largely settled from the Barbadoes, and so its colonial life was never crude but highly developed from the first. This is an important fact and one which partly accounts for the rapidity with which slavery and the slave code were introduced into Carolina. There was transferred to South Carolina "a colonial social system which, beginning a little later than that of Virginia, was nearly as old and as fully developed as that of Massachusetts, ready for adaptation by the new colonists from England."

The proximity to the Spanish settlement and the West Indies had other important effects. It caused the creeks and inlets of the coast to be favorite lurking places for pirates. That these were encouraged and abetted by the settlers has often been alleged, but a successful defence of the people from this charge seems to have been made by Mr. McCrady. This situation also made the colony even more military in its character than were those further to the north. One expedition after another was sent by the English colonists against St. Augustine and by the Spanish against Charleston. Damage was done to both sides, outlying settlements, like that of Lord Cardross near Port Royal were destroyed; but neither party succeeded in overthrowing the other. The narratives of these expeditions are clearly given, though they lack something in vividness. One Indian war followed another, as the tribes were instigated by the rival European settlers. The military organization of the people, made necessary by external enemies and later by the great number of savage negro slaves, is assigned by Mr. McCrady as the historic origin of the fondness of the Southerners for military titles. The isolation from other colonies "tended to limit whatever patriotism there might be, to the gradually extending area of the province, while the constant recurrence in thought and act to the central point, the town, developed and intensified the Carolina conception of the entity of the state and of its absolute sovereignty."

The word town is in the singular number, for more than any other colony South Carolina had but one centre. "Until the immigration of the Scotch-Irish and Virginians into the upper country, by the way of the mountains, from 1750 to 1760, the development

of the colony was, not as in New England, from many and distinct settlements or towns; but from one point, the circle enlarging, as the population increased, but always with reference to the one central point—the town—Charles Town." This produced a very noteworthy result, that there was no local area of administrative activity, "no such thing as a county or township government of any kind" in South Carolina for two hundred years from its settlement, and, indeed, to the close of the Civil War. We now see the basis for the strong affection for the state. So, too, the struggle of these people in behalf of strict construction of a written constitution began in the conflicts they had with the proprietors concerning the interpretation of the charter. The influx of Huguenots receives due attention, and Mr. McCrady properly points out that they are not to be counted among the dissenters. We ought never to forget that the Huguenots were members of the Reformed Church of France, the Anglicans of the Reformed Church of England. The beginnings of the influence of New England men in the South are also shown us. Some day a genealogist will show us that those who sneered at "Northern mudsills" unconsciously scorned the blood of many of the South's ablest leaders, and that these emigrants and their children absorbed fully the peculiar views of the section to which they came. We ought also to know what Mr. McCrady frankly acknowledges: "Any tradition that connects to any extent the provincial aristocracies of the Southern States with the Old World patrician origin is pure sentimental fiction; that is not only contrary to common sense and to all evidence that can be collected, but is in defiance of history itself." The English people of all the colonies came from the middle classes, and the "social order," not only of South Carolina, but also of every other colony, "has been the outgrowth of her peculiar circumstances."

We have left ourselves no space to do more than merely call attention to a few of the other interesting points in the book; the discussion of the early history of the ballot in the colony (p. 199), the claim that South Carolina prepared the first American bill of rights (p. 243), the proof that the liberality of the Fundamental Constitutions was due not to Locke, but the charter (p. 106), and the curious career of the learned and corrupt chief justice, Nicholas Trott.

There are a few errors, misprints, etc., which should be corrected in subsequent editions. The statement (p. 126) that Indians did not name rivers may be correct for South Carolina, but is not accurate as a general statement. The Algonquins named many rivers.

Sir William Talbot (p. 128) is not to be found in any list of the

governors of Maryland. The Library Act of 1700 is preserved and may be read, *in extenso*, in one of Trott's works, which seems to have escaped Mr. McCrady's notice: "The Laws of the British Plantations in America relating to the Church, the Clergy, Religion and Learning;" folio, London, 1721. The library in Charleston itself was not the first public one in America (p. 353). That honor is due either to the more or less vague early Boston Library, or to the one Dr. Bray established at Annapolis in Maryland. Rev. John Cotton (p. 335) sailed *for* and not *from* Charles Town in 1698 (Sibley's Harvard Graduates Vol I, pp. 496 *et seq.*). A *free* school has no connection with the payment of tuition by the pupils (p. 702). We should always remember that prior to this century a free school was one where liberal studies were taught. There seems to be a confusion as to the date of Governor Tynte's death: on page 487 it is given as 1710, and on page 720 as 1709.

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BERNARD C. STEINER.

Histoire politique de l'Europe contemporaine; Évolution des partis et des formes politiques, 1814-1896. By CH. SEIGNOBOS, Maître des Conférences à la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Paris. Pp. xii, 814. Price, 12 fr. Paris: Armand Colin et Cie, 1897.

Perhaps the most remarkable characteristics of M. Seignobos' book are its compactness and its comprehensiveness. Within the compass of eight hundred pages are contained not only the political history of every country in Europe from 1814 to 1896, but also chapters devoted to the diplomatic and military history of Europe, to Europe in 1814, to the transformation of material conditions, to the relations between church and state, and to the evolution of socialistic and anarchistic parties and ideas. Furthermore, there is a section at the close of each chapter on political history, on the evolution of the state in question, and a final chapter on the political evolution of Europe as a whole. When there be added to the above an elaborate preface and general bibliography, special bibliographies at the end of each chapter, a table of contents and an index, it will be seen that nothing has been left undone to make the work scientifically complete.

In the preface, M. Seignobos is at considerable pains to explain the plan and method of his work. He is fully aware of the impossibility of basing such a work upon the results of direct personal investigation on account of the enormous mass of material that exists for the history of the present century; and he forewarns the reader that he has drawn his evidence from second-hand authorities, and has no intention of giving proofs for all his statements. He

declares it to be his intention to write a work for the public that shall be both complete and accurate and shall consist of those facts and statements which are established beyond a doubt, and do not need verification for their acceptance; that he does not intend to present any fact regarding which there can be the least doubt, or to add a single statement that is not or cannot be obtained from existing printed works. Thus he has not produced a book which can be deemed scientific from the point of view of the sources employed, but has rather aimed to create a popular handbook for students and readers who wish to have in encyclopedic form the history of the nineteenth century. In order to carry out this idea the work was originally issued by the publishers in ten parts of about eighty pages each at the price of one franc for each fascicule.

But there is another aspect of M. Seignobos' history which is more important, and that is the method of treatment. He has not written what he calls *l'histoire narrative* or *l'histoire érudite* but *l'histoire explicative*; that is, he deals with those facts that are necessary in order to understand the political evolution of Europe without regard to others that make for color and romance. "Evolution" is constantly in his mind and is frequently mentioned in his pages, though in its application it is limited to the history of political parties and political institutions. In all the work there is not a word about art, science, literature, religion, manners or customs. Yet this statement needs to be somewhat qualified: "I have not believed it possible," he says, "to confine political history to an exposition of those events and institutions only which are properly called political. Preoccupied before all with explaining phenomena in showing how they are linked together I have reserved a place for non-political facts—local administration, the army, the church, education, the press, political ideas, the economic régime—in all cases where they have reacted on political life."

In other parts of his preface M. Seignobos explains his arrangement of material, his choice of style—short, clear and precise, fitting a scientific manual—his avoidance of all vague terms, such as royalty, church, elements, tendencies, substituting therefor precise terms, such as the names of a people, a party, or a class, or the words government, ministry, clergy. He lays just stress upon the importance of impartiality, and makes known his determination to exclude rigidly all personal sentiments and preferences. He confesses that he favors a liberal *régime*, one that is lay, democratic and western, but he believes that he is none the less able to deal scientifically with phenomena that are ecclesiastical and reactionary.

That M. Seignobos has succeeded in giving us a scientific manual that is accurate, precise and impartial is incontestable. For the teacher of European history or for the advanced student of the same subject his history is invaluable. It is superior to Bulle's, though the work of the latter is extremely able; for it seeks to explain history and not merely to narrate it. For this reason the work—condensed though it is—is no dull epitome of facts, as is Müller's "Political History;" it is suggestive in every part, full of ideas, comments, lucid arrangements, clear exposition, and independent statements that throw light on policies and political actions. It is absolutely impartial, a useful and scholarly guide to contemporary history, bound to give to him who will read it a clear understanding of present-day situations.

But M. Seignobos, in endeavoring to give his book scientific precision, has made it very unattractive from a literary standpoint. Some chapters in the work are interesting, those on the development of material conditions, on the history of the church, and on the rise of the revolutionary parties are clear and delightful expositions of historical progress. But the greater part of the work is unreadable; is too condensed, too much like a compendium, containing the material for history rather than history itself. There is an entire absence of light touches, of descriptive incidents, of biographical detail.

Despite the frequent use of the word "evolution" there is in the treatment of the greater part of the subject no real attempt to make clear the causes of things; situations are admirably explained, but the explanations do not go very far below the surface. Consequently the treatment lacks depth; there are no lights and shadows, no life to the picture, and very little true perspective. There is more exact statement than the general reader will want; there are too many facts, dates, and side issues thrown into brackets and between dashes. The style is wanting in elegance, smoothness and rhythm; the matter is not well co-ordinated nor is it logically expressed; the sentences are too short and abrupt; and what is more serious, the statements are at times so condensed as to leave an insufficient and even an incorrect impression upon the mind of the reader. For example, who will be satisfied with the following account of the circumstances leading to the war of 1859? "[Napoléon] envoya son médecin inviter Cavour à une entrevue personnelle à Plombières; c'est là que l'entente fut conclue. C'était un marché: Napoléon promettait de délivrer tout le royaume lombard-vénitien jusqu'à l'Adriatique, Cavour en échange promettait la Savoie et Nice.—La guerre contre l'Autriche avait été décidée à Plombières; mais il

fallut attendre un motif pour la déclarer. L'Angleterre, qui tenait à la paix, proposa un congrès; Napoléon y consentit. Cavour désespéré parlait déjà de se brûler la cervelle. Mais le gouvernement autrichien, au lieu d'accepter le congrès, envoya un ultimatum à la Sardaigne. La guerre fut déclarée." Three comments may be made upon this passage, which is but one of many of a similar character: First, it is written in text-book language; secondly, it is a very inadequate account of an important situation, and thirdly, it is not quite accurate, inasmuch as it was Russia, not England, that proposed the congress. Furthermore it shows how little M. Seignobos is concerned with the study of causes, else he would not have left us so entirely in the dark as to why Napoleon desired to help Italy, and why Austria so injudiciously sent in her ultimatum. Despite what has been said by other reviewers M. Seignobos has very little interest in the logical sequence of events or in the principle of causation.

It is true that M. Seignobos has intentionally limited himself to political parties and political forms, but the result is unfortunate in that it has led him to treat very perfunctorily some of the most important events in the history of modern Europe, regarding which the general reader would certainly expect to be enlightened. Even in discussing the internal history of European countries he has frequently given disproportionate space to events of minor importance. The nine years of Piedmontese history, from 1849 to 1858, are dealt with in less space than the six years of Spanish history from 1834 to 1840; the events of German history from 1864 to 1866, momentous as they were for German unity, are more quickly disposed of than is the Swiss constitution of 1848; the diplomacy of the Crimean war—which is of great importance, whatever may be said of the events of the war itself—is dismissed in a few brief paragraphs; the Schleswig-Holstein question is not treated as a whole in any one place, part of it being presented under Germany, part under Denmark and part under diplomatic history, consequently it is impossible to get a clear idea of the difficulty. Furthermore, the Mexican expedition is mentioned only incidentally; Ferry's colonial policy in France, as well as that of Bismarck in Germany, is passed over in a sentence or two, and although the work comes down to the year 1896, no reference to M. Hanotaux is given, and stranger still, the recognition of Ferdinand as Prince of Bulgaria is passed over entirely.

Nor is the work entirely free from errors. Napoleon did not propose war against Russia in 1863; he only invited England and Austria to form a closer alliance in order to make more effectual

their protests regarding Poland; the treaty of Frankfort was May 10, not May 20; the German emperor's speech from the throne was delivered on March 21, not May 21; the date of Cavour's speech on Rome is March 27, not March 28, 1861; on page 788 the "treaty of neutrality of 1888" should be the "treaty of neutrality of 1884"; Ferry's ministry in France is given in one place as ending in March, 1884, and in another as ending in May, 1885, whereas the date should be March, 1885; on one page the uprising of the Herzegovinians is given as having taken place in 1860-61, in another the date is 1862; M. Seignobos is wrong in saying that the Powers compelled Turkey to withdraw entirely from Servia in 1862, she did not so withdraw until 1867; it seems misleading to speak of d'Azeglio as a poet and not mention his many other talents. Many of these errors are undoubtedly mere matters of proof-reading; and it is truly remarkable that the slips should be so few.

But the last word upon M. Seignobos' book must be a word of praise. As a source of information; as a stimulus to further thought and study; as a guide to the literature of nineteenth century history it will be a true *vade mecum* to the teacher and the scholar. That it will satisfy the wants of the unprofessional reader I cannot believe; but its failure from the point of view of readableness and artistic presentation need not detract in the least from its value as a work of scholarship and erudition.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

Bryn Mawr College.

Des Origines et de l'Etat social de la Nation Française. By H. SOULIER. Pp. 520. Price, 10 fr. Paris: Giard et Brière, 1898.

France is a democracy, the development of which has been logical in the past and which needs but a few changes to make it ideal in the future. Such is the belief of the author of the work under review, four-fifths of which he devotes to substantiating the historical statement, while in the other fifth he outlines the changes necessary for the future.

The volume opens with a detailed consideration of the various racial elements which have combined to form the present French people, such as the Romans, the Franks and the Celts. We have much information regarding these races, but, in the author's opinion, this knowledge has been sought not to furnish a base on which conclusions may be built, but rather to provide an Atlas on whose shoulders a world of opinions already formed may be placed. Having maintained that none of the early migrations were properly

conquests, but rather the mingling together of peoples in which distinctness of race was soon lost, the author says the feudal barons had no claim to rule by inheritance over the nation, and that the feudal kingship was a rule of might rather than of right. As a result of foreign wars and industrial inventions the nobility lost its political importance, Courtrai and Agincourt clearly showing that the political greatness of France depended on her peasantry. The consciousness of this fact, aided by the intestine quarrels of the barons, naturally led to an absolute monarchy and the political equality of the masses.

Thus one-half of the race towards democracy was run. The remaining half was concluded by the Revolution of '89, bringing social equality, which, after retracing several backward steps, remains an accomplished fact. "There are left only personal inequalities and those of situation which it is impossible to suppress." Dangers, however, there are which threaten the continuance of democracy and, yet more, prevent the attainment of the social ideal. The return to aristocratic or monarchical government should be carefully guarded against, and by opposing in detail the arguments of writers favorable to those forms, the author strives to render his own position unassailable. The republic must continue and political equality made coincident with social equality.

The reforms advocated by the author for the realization of an ideal state are these: (1) The abolition of the Senate or the introduction of the right of appeal to the people in case of conflict between that body and the Deputies; (2) strict regulation of monopolies and great care in the granting of concessions regarding landholding; (3) no maintenance of property in land in one line of descent after four generations;* (4) a progressive tax on property other than land.

The third improvement is considered the most important. Land, it is said, has always been considered as public property and only granted to private ownership on condition of good use. If the large estates were divided, population would increase and production would be stimulated; while under present conditions France has not even kept pace with Prussia in agricultural improvement. In the author's words, a socialism is aimed at which shall be "neither a sacrifice of the individual to society nor society to the individual."

Although the work is interesting we can hardly consider it as a remarkable production. The author seems to commit the fault of

*The author does not insist on *four*, being willing to accept eight or even twelve generations.

selecting his facts to suit his theory quite as much as some writers of whom he complains. Many ideas are put forward which are suggestive, but we cannot agree, especially in view of recent judicial action, that France has already reached a position where details alone prevent the realization of an ideal democracy.

C. H. LINCOLN.

Philadelphia.

Area and Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census. By WALTER F. WILLCOX. Economic Studies. Vol. II, No. 4. Pp. 50. Price, 50 cents. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1897.

Density and Distribution of Population in the United States at the Eleventh Census. By WALTER F. WILLCOX. Economic Studies. Vol. II, No. 6. Pp. 70. Price, 50 cents. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1897.

Practical considerations lead to the division of Professor Willcox's study of the population of the United States into two sections. These really belong together and may be so treated in a review. The essay is designed as an introduction to the social statistics of the United States, but before taking up this topic, deals with the significance of statistics in general and of the place of the United States among the great nations of the world. The view of statistics which is here presented at once clearly and concisely, is one which has the hearty commendation of the reviewer, and upon which he has frequently insisted. The author regards statistics merely as the numerical study of facts, but believes that a consideration of the application of the statistical method to the concrete problems of population is, after all, the best way in which to impress upon the student the nature of the method and the care with which it must be exercised.

The determination of area, so necessary for a correct computation of the density of population, belongs to the geographer, but through a careful analysis of the available material for our own country, Professor Willcox shows that the statistician cannot always accept the geographer's statements without scrutiny. He establishes the fact that we are far from having an accurate knowledge of the size of the various counties, or even of the states, which compose our national domain.

This discussion is preliminary to a consideration of the accuracy of the second factor, which determines the density of population, namely, the number of inhabitants. This involves a brief discussion

of census methods and of the method of determining population at other than census periods. The result of this critical analysis is to establish the substantial accuracy of the population statistics of the eleventh census.

The grouping of the population in the various states is a preliminary to the study of the density of population. The writer shows how unsatisfactory for the purposes of accurate information is the calculation of the density of large divisions of the earth's surface. His own study of the United States is based upon his computations of the densities of the populations of counties. Graphically represented, this method gives us a less harmonious picture than is furnished by the density map of the census, but on the other hand, it rests on a basis which is thoroughly comprehensible. The census map relates exclusively to the non-urban population, while the method employed by Professor Willcox makes no distinction between urban and rural. On the other hand, the census map does not follow the civil subdivisions of the country. While, therefore, it may be entirely correct, it is not within the capacity of any individual to verify it. Furthermore, the division in the groups of population as represented by the different shades of the census map has been dictated by reasons which Professor Willcox holds to be inadequate, and which certainly sin against the rule that such divisions should, so far as possible, be made equal in size and should adapt themselves to the decimal notation. In the small map given by Professor Willcox we have better adaptation to the usual notation. A brief consideration of the regions of greatest density of population is followed by a consideration of the individual states with their peculiar distribution. In this chapter the states are arranged alphabetically, an arrangement which has certain disadvantages. We believe that this portion of the work would have been of greater interest had the author followed the principle of geographical contiguity and not forced the reader to pass from Alabama to Alaska, thence to Arizona, thence to Arkansas, and so through the list of states and territories.

We have felt that a description of the contents of these pamphlets would be the best review. An orderly arrangement of the subject-matter, a clear and concise style, a suggestive treatment of the relations between the population and various economic factors, characterizes the work. The author's keen criticism is well exhibited in this essay, which is an interesting evidence of the value of the work of the private statistician. He has given us an example of the application of the statistical method, which will be welcome to all economists who are sanguine for the progress of their science,

through the exercise of a dispassionate and critical analysis of facts. This is in truth the function of the statistician in the realm of economic thought, but unfortunately all those who have assumed the name have not been so fully alive to the responsibilities and duties which this function involves as is the author of the present work.

ROLAND P. FALKNER.

NOTES ON MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

AMERICAN CITIES.

New York State.—*Primary Elections.* The recent sessions of the National Conference on Primary Elections, together with the fact that many of the state legislatures and a great number of reform associations are concerning themselves with the system of nominating candidates, have brought the whole matter of the primary and caucus before the public. A number of reports dealing with different phases of the question have been recently issued, the most important of which is that of the Buffalo Republican League, which contains a careful summary of the primary election laws in the leading states. This report shows that "twelve of the Northern and Western states have primary election laws; all of them having been enacted within the past ten years; a large proportion since 1893. There is evident in all, a desire to throw around the choice of party nominees some of the safeguards which, in practice, have been found valuable in purifying the procedure of election day. . . . Elaborate provisions for governing the primary are in force in Kentucky, Missouri, Michigan, Massachusetts and California. The committee however, finds serious defects in each one of these. "Missouri is silent as to the qualities which shall enable a voter to participate in a primary election. Kentucky may have several primary days each year, and at least one for each political party. California rejects the blanket ballot and permits any person or combination of persons to print or vote a ballot of the uniform size and color. Michigan holds the primaries within twenty days of the election. Massachusetts puts the caucus in charge of officers elected by the caucus for the preceding year, and not under the control of the regular election officers."

At the close of the report the committee makes a number of recommendations, the most important of which are as follows: First, a primary election law must recognize that any allegiance, either to nation or party, should be based upon a present and future intention, not on past acts, and that the test of party allegiance should be framed accordingly; second, such a law must place the machinery of political nominations, from the beginning to the end, under the supervision of sworn public officials and subject to rigid requirements. The committee make many additional recommendations intended to reconcile the rights of the individual voter with those of the party organization.

Report of the State Railroad Commission for 1897. The annual report of the commission dwells at some length upon a question which is of considerable importance at the present time when rapid transit has become so general throughout the United States. The overcrowding of street cars, especially in such great centres of population as New York City, is fraught with great danger to the health and safety of the community. The commission says, "No greater number than can be seated and can conveniently stand in the space between the seats should be allowed on the cars. Passengers should not be permitted to stand on any platform of a car operated by mechanical traction, and now that all cars are soon to be operated by electricity in the metropolitan district, the necessity for lessening the danger of the traffic by preventing overcrowding is apparent. The only way to put a stop to it is by legislative restriction, and the penalty should be enforced against the conductor who permits it as well as against the company."

There is no doubt whatsoever, that such a regulation would come within the general police power of the state, or even of the municipality; but it is a question whether such a provision would receive any support from the public. The average American has become so accustomed to inconvenience in street railway travel that annoyances of this kind do not arouse any active resistance. What is demanded is that transportation from one point to another shall be effected as rapidly as possible. Provided the period of annoyance is short, the existing evils will undoubtedly continue.

*Rapid Transit.** In the March number of the *ANNALS* reference was made to the attitude of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court toward the underground railway projects submitted by the Rapid Transit Commission. The condition prescribed by the court, that the contractor undertaking the building of the road should give a bond for \$15,000,000 for the period of construction and operation was so burdensome in its effect as to make the execution of the project impossible.

About the middle of March the court modified its decision so as to require the bond of \$14,000,000 for the period of construction only and but one million for the period of operation. Up to the present time it has not been possible to come to an agreement with a company on the basis of these modified conditions. In order to afford immediate relief the commissioners are now negotiating with the Manhattan Elevated Railroad Company for extensions of that system.

* Communication of James W. Pryor, Esq., Secretary of City Reform Club, New York City.

To obtain full control over the granting of these new privileges the political party now in power in New York City has been making strong efforts to abolish the present rapid transit commission. For this purpose a bill has been recently introduced into the state legislature to substitute for it a commission consisting of the mayor, comptroller and four commissioners appointed by the mayor, "not more than two of whom shall, when appointed, belong to the same political party, nor be of the same political opinion on state and national politics." This is one of the most striking proofs of the friendly understanding between the two political machines which was already discernible before the election of last November. The bill was introduced by the Republican leader in the senate and was supported by the Tammany members of the legislature. It would give to Tammany a majority of the Rapid Transit Board; would divide the power and patronage between the two machines; and would enable the mayor to convert the board into a political engine.

Brooklyn.—*Brooklyn League.* The most recent addition to the list of reform associations is the Brooklyn League,* organized "to bring together for common action all citizens of the borough of Brooklyn who are interested in its welfare; to co-operate with the officials in promoting and forwarding local improvements and in securing efficient and economical administration; to watch the conduct of public business and the course of legislation, both state and municipal; to procure for members timely and accurate information regarding all matters of public concern affecting the borough or any part of it; to support effectively whatever makes for the best interest of the borough or the city at large, and to oppose whatever is hostile thereto. The objects of the league are not political nor partisan, and it shall not make or endorse nominations of candidates for public office."

It will be seen from the above provision of the constitution that the sole function of the league will be to look after the interests of that part of the Greater New York known as the borough of Brooklyn.

Philadelphia.—*Mayor's Annual Message.* In the third annual message to councils, the mayor deals at some length with the city's finances. The defeat in councils of the \$11,000,000 loan bill, after the same had received the approval of the people at the polls, greatly crippled the plans for public improvements. By far the most pressing of the needs which this loan was expected to meet was the construction of a filtration plant. The prevalence of zymotic diseases, directly traceable to the polluted water furnished for

* The Secretary of the League is Edward B. Lent, Esq., 200 Joralemon Street, Brooklyn.

drinking purposes, would have been remedied by the introduction of this system. The mayor urges upon councils to reconsider the loan bill.

The leasing of the gas works is also commented upon, the mayor explaining his reasons for favoring the lease. "The gas works," he says, "under the agreement of the company can be brought up to present scientific standards and will turn a much larger sum of money into the treasury of the city than could have been returned under municipal management. In my judgment no municipality can as successfully conduct a manufacturing business as a private corporation."

Charges of Bribery and Corruption. Great public interest has been aroused in the charges brought against members of councils, and substantiated by the open confession in court of one member, that influences of a corrupt nature were brought to bear upon councilmen in order to secure their support for the ordinance giving to a water company the practical monopoly of supplying filtered water to the city's reservoirs. Proceedings are now pending in the courts against several members of councils and the agent of the water company in question.

Massachusetts.—Special Report on Street Railways. A report of great interest and importance has just been published by a special committee, appointed by the governor of Massachusetts in July, 1897.* The duty of this committee was to inquire into the relation between cities and towns and street railway companies. A careful examination was made of the relation of the municipality to public transportation in European, as well as in American cities. The views of the committee are extremely optimistic as regards American street railway development and rather pessimistic in its judgment of European conditions. According to this report the absence of public control of public franchise corporations combined with the system of perpetual franchises has been the greatest incentive to rapid improvement in the transportation system. The statements of the committee, and particularly the formulation of the general principles which govern the granting of franchises, are of such importance as to merit detailed consideration. We shall reserve for the July ANNALS a discussion of these principles.

Boston.—Board of Estimate and Apportionment. The mayor of Boston, supported by the Merchants' Municipal Committee and a number of reform associations, is actively advocating the passage of

* The committee was composed of Charles Francis Adams, of Lincoln, William W. Crapo, of Bedford, Ellhu B. Hayes, of Lynn. Walter S. Allen, of New Bedford, was appointed secretary to the board.

a bill by the state legislature creating a Board of Estimate and Apportionment similar in power and function to the New York board. The act provides that the mayor, the chairman of the board of aldermen, the president of the common council, the city auditor, the corporation counsel, the city engineer, and the chairman of the board of statistics commissioners shall constitute, *ex-officiis*, a Board of Estimate and Apportionment, to serve in such capacity without additional pay. The duty of the board will be to make up the city budget; the power of the council being restricted to reducing appropriations thus made; but any such vote of reduction shall be subject to the veto of the mayor and passage over his veto as provided by law. It will be seen that in this bill the city of Boston illustrates a tendency characteristic of all American cities, to deprive the local representative assembly of its control over the city's finances.

School Boards and Taxes. The secretary of the Board of Statistics, Dr. Edward M. Hartwell, has compiled an extremely interesting statement of the present condition of the school administration in the larger cities of the United States. As regards the form of organization the greatest differences in conditions exist. Almost every form of school board administration, from election by the people to appointment by the mayor, or even by the courts, is to be found. Furthermore, there exists great diversity in the powers of the school boards. Thus, in Philadelphia, Buffalo, St. Paul, New Orleans, Detroit and Savannah, the school boards are dependent for appropriations upon the city council. In Milwaukee the school board determines the tax to be levied for school purposes, subject to change by a two-thirds vote of councils. In Cincinnati, Cleveland, Denver, Indianapolis, Minneapolis and St. Louis the school board has the power to determine and to levy the amount of taxes to be devoted to school purposes, provided such taxes remain within the limits prescribed by state law. The following table shows the wide range of expenditure in different cities of the United States:

<i>Cities.</i>	<i>Population.</i>	<i>Total Ordinary Expenses Per capita.</i>	<i>Cities.</i>	<i>Population.</i>	<i>Total Ordinary Expenses Per capita.</i>
Baltimore . . .	434,439	\$17.91	Detroit . . .	205,876	\$14.95
Boston . . .	448,477	35.94	New Orleans .	242,039	11.69
Brooklyn . . .	806,343	20.88	New York . . .	1,515,301	32.30
Buffalo . . .	255,664	26.41	Philadelphia .	1,046,964	18.95
Chicago . . .	1,099,850	16.73	Pittsburg . . .	238,617	12.93
Cincinnati . .	296,908	21.74	St. Louis . . .	451,770	13.74
Cleveland . . .	261,353	11.06	San Francisco .	298,997	18.86

*Financial Statement.** On January 1, 1898, the total debt, city and county, was \$79,696,166.41. Of this \$26,640,000 was in special loans outside the debt limit, \$17,911,273.98 the water debt, and the county debt (outside the debt limit) amounted to \$2,921,000. This leaves a balance of \$32,223,892.43 inside the debt limit. The total sinking funds amounts to \$27,447,148.26. Deducting from this the water debt sinking fund of \$9,852,192.55, the special loans sinking fund of \$3,367,457.91, and the county court house sinking fund of \$426,408.89 there is left for the regular sinking fund \$13,802,088. The net debt, exclusive of loans made outside the debt limit, is \$18,421,803.52. The commissioners of the sinking funds estimate that the amount which the city can borrow within the established debt limit is \$1,701,997.46.

School Supplies. The cost of school supplies in 1897 was \$224,573. The average cost per pupil for books, supplies and incidentals was \$1.57, and for fuel, gas and water \$1.18, a total of \$2.75. The total amount expended for books, drawing materials and stationery was \$72,393.36. The total number of text-books owned by the city is 526,903, and the cost, if replaced at publishers' prices, would be \$235,964.34. Since the free text-book act went into operation fourteen years ago the outlay for books, drawing materials and stationery has been \$784,199.74. Slates are now forbidden on hygienic grounds, and paper and pencils are used in their place. Over one hundred tons of paper are annually used for this purpose, but on account of the low price of paper the increased cost has not been so great as expected when the change was made.

Baltimore.—*New Charter.*† The most important single piece of legislation enacted by the General Assembly of Maryland at the biennial session just completed, was the grant of a new charter to the city of Baltimore. The metropolis of Maryland enjoys the perhaps unique distinction of having lived its entire corporate life—a round hundred years—under the original act of incorporation. The practical significance of this instrument has long disappeared under the mass of supplementary and amendatory legislation enacted by successive legislatures, and codified from time to time. In consequence no city in the United States has struggled longer under as antiquated and cumbrous a framework. Intelligent agitation for municipal reconstruction culminated in the appointment last November by Mayor Malster of an admirably selected commission, to draft an entirely new city charter. The results of this body's labors were

* Communication of Sylvester Baxter, Esq.

† Communication of Dr. J. H. Hollander, Johns Hopkins University.

submitted promptly to the general assembly, and enacted into statute law without a single essential amendment.

The new charter represents a conservative adaptation of accepted principles of municipal reform to local requirements and established usage. The fundamental feature is the concentration of power in the hands of the mayor, and the organization of related branches of the municipal service into responsible departments. The bicameral council is retained, but its power is greatly reduced by the creation of a Board of Estimates in which virtually the entire financial power is centred. The public school system is transferred from the existing board appointed by the council to a smaller body appointed for a long term by the mayor.

A most important feature of the new instrument is the separation of municipal from state and federal elections by appointing the former for May. The grant of franchises, including any specific right in or relating to public property, is limited to terms of twenty-five years, subject to revaluation at the time of renewal which must not be for a longer period. Provision is made for the appointment of experts in all departments requiring professional skill, and for public supervision of the indigent sick and poor while subjects of municipal aid. Minority representation upon all departmental boards is secured, and steps are taken to prevent the periodic accumulation of floating indebtedness.

Taken all in all, the new charter of Baltimore is an admirable instrument for the purpose for which it has been designed, and it can hardly fail to effect marked improvement in local municipal life.

Washington.*—*Franchises.* Municipal franchises in the District of Columbia are granted by act of Congress, usually upon the recommendation of the District Commissioners and the Senate and House committees on the District of Columbia. They are granted without any time limit, and without compensation to the District. In the case of street railways, it has been the custom for ten years past to provide in each charter for taxation of the gross receipts, usually at the rate of 4 per cent, in lieu of a property tax. Three of the older companies pay taxes nominally on their real and personal property, including their tracks; but the assessor has adopted the rule of assessing their property, real and personal, at such an amount as will make the taxes payable thereon equal to 4 per cent of the gross receipts in each case. Thus these three companies actually pay 4 per cent of their gross receipts in

* Communication of Max West, Esq.

lieu of all other taxes, while the newer companies pay a like percentage and also the general District tax of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on the assessed valuation of their real estate. This discrimination bears no relation to the value of the franchises enjoyed, for of the three most prosperous companies in the District two pay nothing except the 4 per cent. This discrepancy has finally attracted the attention of the House District Committee, and the House has passed a bill imposing in lieu of the present taxes on receipts, but in addition to the regular tax on the real estate of all the companies, a tax of $4\frac{3}{4}$ per cent on the gross earnings of the Capital Traction Company, the Metropolitan Railroad Company and the Columbia Railway Company, and $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent on the gross earnings of the other roads. The five-eighths of one per cent in each case is designated as a franchise tax. The discrimination embodied in this bill is based upon a real difference in the condition of the various companies, the higher rate being applied to the three companies at present most prosperous; but they are taxed by name, and there is nothing in the bill to subject another company to the higher tax when its business becomes equally profitable. From data contained in the annual reports of the companies to Congress, it is estimated that the new plan will increase the receipts from \$96,000 to a little more than \$119,000 a year, a gain of about \$23,000; nevertheless; of the ten companies included in the calculation, five will have their taxes reduced. The District system of license taxes, as it exists on paper, includes an annual charge of \$3 for one-horse cars, \$6 for two-horse cars and \$10 for other vehicles capable of carrying ten passengers or more; but the street railways refuse to pay this tax, and no serious effort is made to enforce it against them.

The telephone company operating in the District of Columbia is a foreign corporation and a "squatter," having taken possession of the field many years ago without any authority from Congress; but its existence has since been incidentally recognized in legislation, and its rights have never been seriously questioned. In response to public agitation, the telephone rentals have been considerably reduced by Congress at the present session. A special committee of the House has been investigating the whole subject of telephone rates. This committee has also authority to inquire into the gas business.

Cincinnati.*—Reorganization of City Government. The year that has elapsed since the overthrow of the machine has not witnessed much reform legislation, due mainly to existing legislation which had to be repealed or amended. The reform movement last

* Communication of Max B. May, Esq.

Spring succeeded because of the coalition between Democrats and Anti-machine Republicans. The fusion then so timely was renewed last fall. After two months of manœuvering a new law, aptly termed the "Cincinnati Ripper," has been passed. By the provisions of this act the mayor will appoint a bi-partisan board of city affairs consisting of six members, two of whom hold office for one year; two for two years and two for three years. As the terms expire their successors are to be elected by the people. This new board will have full control of the streets, parks and all public works and improvements. It is probable that the present waterworks commission, which is building the new six and a half million dollar works will be abolished and its duties transferred to the new board.

Corrupt Practices Act. The corrupt practices act of 1896 has been declared constitutional and its provisions have been enforced by the courts in two important instances. A probate judge of one of the counties was ousted because he had expended more money in the campaign than the law allowed; and the mayor of Springfield was recently deprived of his office for the same reason and for violating the provision forbidding ante-election promises. It seems that the mayor had promised a certain labor organization to appoint to a certain office any candidate it might designate; after the election he refused to comply with its request and the proceedings above mentioned were instituted.

City Indebtedness. The last report of the sinking fund trustees shows the finances of the city to be in an excellent condition. The total bonded indebtedness of the city is \$32,609,459; of this amount the sinking fund trustees hold about \$7,127,000, making a net indebtedness of \$25,482,459, a decrease of nearly a half a million since 1896. The principal items of the bonded indebtedness are as follows: Southern Railway, 335 miles of road running from Cincinnati to Chattanooga, now under lease and yielding over \$1,000,000 annual rental, \$18,622,000; park purposes, \$1,460,000; city hall, \$900,000; hospital, \$300,000; University of Cincinnati buildings, \$108,000; sewerage, \$705,000; refunded debt, \$3,600,000; waterworks, \$1,175,000;* annexed villages, \$1,000,000. In 1877 the bonded indebtedness of the city was \$23,306,500 and to-day it is but \$25,485,459, and in the meantime the city has been repaved, a new city hall built and other costly improvements made. The Southern Railroad alone could be sold at a figure which will nearly extinguish the entire bonded debt.

Cleveland. — *Municipal Association of Cleveland.* The first Annual Report of the Municipal Association of Cleveland gives

* This item will be largely increased during coming years.

evidence of considerable activity, considering the short period the association has been in existence. The association has been particularly active in enlightening public opinion as to the standing of the candidates of the regular political parties and in maintaining a careful supervision of public work. While the probabilities are that it will soon take a more active part in local elections, its most important function will be in holding municipal officials and contractors to strict conformity with the highest standards of efficiency.

A special bulletin issued by the association contains a paper by Frederic C. Howe, Esq., on "The Relation of the City to the Street Railway Question." Within the last year the question of renewing franchises and giving further privileges to street railway companies, has occupied much of the attention of the city council. The ordinance now pending provides for an extension of the franchise of the roads for a period of twenty-five years; the fare to be five cents for a single ride and six tickets for twenty-five cents, together with universal transfers over the lines of the two companies operating the street railway system. Furthermore, a certain percentage of gross receipts, probably not exceeding 2 per cent, is to be paid into the city treasury. Mr. Howe, after making many interesting comparisons with conditions in other cities, comes to the conclusion that the interests of the city are not safeguarded in granting franchises on these terms. He cites the recent contract between the city of Indianapolis and the street railway company. Under the franchise grant obtained by that corporation it was provided that it should sell six tickets for twenty-five cents, with full transfer privileges; that it should perform extensive street paving, and in addition pay to the city the following percentages of gross receipts during the period of thirty years—the terms of the grant: "For the first five years, 10 per cent, for the second five years, 12½ per cent; for the third five years, 13½ per cent, and for the remainder of the term, 14½ per cent."

Omaha.*—Tax Commissioner. Marked improvement in the city's finances has been brought about by the inauguration of a special tax commission with a tax commissioner in charge of the assessment of property for municipal taxation. Under the supervision of the new official, the tax list for the municipal levy has been prepared separately from that for state and county purposes, with the result of largely increasing the total by a more equitable valuation, and the inclusion of much property that formerly escaped taxation

* Communication of Victor Rosewater, Ph.D., Omaha, Neb.

altogether. The total assessed valuation therefore of the city for this year is nearly twice what it was under the old system.

In forcing the assessment of property which formerly escaped taxation, the principal gains have been made upon the franchises and personal property of the great public corporations. The local electric light company, for example, which in 1897 paid on personalty valued at \$20,000 has this year been assessed \$95,000 on personal property, and \$25,000 for its franchise. The local gas company which last year paid taxes on \$60,000 of personalty is this year assessed for \$28,000 of personal property, and \$100,000 for its franchise. The waterworks company, which last year paid upon a personal assessment of \$249,700 has this year been assessed on the basis of \$420,000. The street railway company, which in 1897 paid taxes on \$70,200 of personalty, is this year assessed upon \$275,000 of personal property and \$150,000 for its franchise. The gas company, in addition to its regular taxes, paid last year into the city treasury the sum of \$8,526.23 as the royalty due under its franchise, which requires it to pay to the city five cents upon every 1000 cubic feet of gas sold to private consumers.

The one direction in which the city has made no progress is in its police government, which has been a constant source of strife and contention. The fire and police departments are under the management of a board of commissioners appointed by the governor of the state. While it is supposed to be strictly non-partisan, it has been constantly embroiled in local politics, to the detriment of the service and injury of the city. There is at present a suit pending in the supreme court in which the constitutionality of this board's title is questioned. Charges are also pending before the governor impeaching three of his appointees for misdemeanors in office, but the outcome is not easy to predict.

FOREIGN CITIES.

Glasgow.—*Taxation.* The productivity of municipal industrial enterprises in England has led to the statement, repeated in newspapers and magazines, that English cities are defraying a large part of the expenses of government from the profits of gas and waterworks, street railway lines, etc. The impression seems quite general that cities such as Glasgow have reached a point at which local taxation has come to play an unimportant part in the local budget. In fact, the statement has several times been made that Glasgow has

completely eliminated taxation and is running the government from the profits of quasi-public works.

An examination of the extension of municipal enterprise in England will show that this is far from being the case. In fact, within recent years there has been a distinct tendency to adopt a policy through which the profits from the municipal enterprises will be greatly reduced. To an increasing extent the social, as distinct from the financial, standpoint, has become dominant in English local policy. The municipal authorities are beginning to appreciate the influence of municipal services upon the health and industrial efficiency of the population. We find them, therefore, pursuing a policy designed to give the widest possible extension to municipal services, even if such extension should mean a reduction of net profits. Thus, the price of gas has been gradually reduced to 52 2-5 cents per thousand cubic feet, and the street railway fares are adjusted with a view to encouraging a more equable distribution of population rather than directly increasing profits.

At no time in the history of Glasgow, or for that matter of any of the English cities, has taxation ceased to be the most fruitful source of revenue. While for a certain period—especially between 1860 and 1880—the financial policy was to use municipal enterprises for purposes of profit, thus retarding the increase in taxation, the reduction in the price of city services since that time is tending to give to taxation an increasingly important place in the budget. It is possible that a misunderstanding has arisen owing to the system of local taxation peculiar to England. English cities do not levy a general tax rate upon their real or personal property. The system is that of a series of special taxes for specific purposes. Thus, there is a special police tax, a road tax, a public health tax, a park tax, a water rate; in other words, a special rate for each municipal function. The system of specialization is further developed by making the rate different for different sections of the city when the service is such as to benefit one section to a greater extent than another. Again, the tax being levied on the rental value of dwellings, the rate varies with the amount of rental. Thus, in Glasgow, dwellings renting at £10 or over per annum pay for all purposes 3s. 11 7-8d. per pound; those renting between £4 and £10 pay 3s. 4 1-16d.; while those renting at less than £4 pay but 2s. 5-16d. The following tables will show the various rates of taxation as well as the amount collected.*

* These tables are compiled from the report of the City Chamberlain, James Nicol, Esq., and were first prepared for *City and State*, where they appeared in the issue of December 30, 1897.

ASSESSMENTS.	ON RENTS \$10 AND UPWARD.				ON RENTS \$4, 1 S., AND UNDER \$10.				ON RENTS \$4 AND UNDER.			
	Payable by Owner.		Payable by Occupier.		Payable by Owner.		Payable by Occupier.		Payable by Owner.		Payable by Occupier.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Public water rate	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
Police	0	0	0	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	0	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	0	0
Statute labor	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Roads and bridges	0	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	0	0	0	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	0	0
Sanitary	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	0	0
Public health	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	0	0	0	0
City improvements	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Parks and galleries	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Municipal buildings, $\frac{1}{2}$; registration of births, etc., $\frac{1}{2}$; registration of voters, $\frac{1}{2}$; valuation of lands, $\frac{1}{2}$; contagious diseases, $\frac{1}{2}$; and prison payments, $\frac{1}{2}$	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	0	0
Cess	0	0	0	0	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	0	0	0	0
Juvenile delinquency	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total municipal rates	0	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Poor rate (on 80 per cent of rental)	0	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
School rate (on 80 per cent of rental)	0	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Lunacy rate (on ground rental)	0	0 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	0 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	0 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	0 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	0	0	0
Total local assessments	1	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	2	9 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	2	13 $\frac{3}{4}$	1	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$

The total returns from taxes throughout the city are shown in the following table :

INCOME FROM ASSESSMENTS IMPOSED ON CITY
PROPERTY, 1890-91.

	£	s.	d.
Police	171,670	0	5
Statute labor	14,300	12	3
Roads and bridges	45,211	0	8
County road debts	4,955	11	4
Sanitary	10,266	13	5
Public health	32,294	11	8
City improvements	12,648	13	3
Parks and galleries	25,374	7	1
Municipal buildings ; registration of births, etc.; registration of voters ; valuation of lands ; contagious diseases (animals) act ; lunacy, in city and govan parishes only ; and prison payment	31,747	17	9
Cess	2,471	16	2
Juvenile delinquency	8,685	11	1
Public water rate	13,287	15	10
Poor and school rate (on 80 per cent of rent) :			
City	£67,527	7s.	11d.
Barony (including lunacy)	93,144	10	10
Govan	49,532	19	11
	210,204	18	8
	£583,119	9	7

For the year 1894-95 we find that while taxes had diminished slightly, yet the total amount received in taxation was nearly as large as in 1891. The tax rate for all purposes was 3s. 10 9-16d. per pound rental value. The total assessment was £3,918,275, and the total amount received from such taxes was £439,700, 19s. 4½d. If from a very rough estimate we were to capitalize the rental value as given in the general assessment, the total real property valuation would be \$391,826,500, as compared with the \$801,828,552 valuation in Philadelphia. This would give for Glasgow a tax rate of 56 cents per \$100 valuation, as compared with \$1.85 in Philadelphia.

While it is true that the relatively low rate of taxation in Glasgow has been due to a careful and business-like management of the public works of the city, it must not be supposed that this is the sole cause. For certain purposes, such as public education, street cleaning, etc., American cities expend a far greater proportion of their total income than English cities. This is particularly true of the expenditure for public education. Thus, for the year 1897, Philadelphia, with a population of 1,142,653, has appropriated \$3,680,510.35 for the maintenance of its public educational system ; while

Glasgow, with a population of 618,420, expends but \$600,000. Again, owing to the comparatively small territory covered by Glasgow—namely, 18.3 square miles—the expenditure for street cleaning is but \$61,625, whereas Philadelphia, with an area of 129½ square miles, has appropriated \$871,814.

In spite of these great differences, however, the fact still remains that the low rate of taxation has been due mainly to the careful management of the city's resources. One of the most important elements in the budgets of American cities is the item of interest and liquidation of loans. These are usually paid out of the general tax rate of the city. A comparison with the conditions in foreign cities will show that the interest and liquidation of most city loans are charged to specific public works; the gas, water, electric light works, street railway department, etc., being compelled to consider these items as fixed charges upon their receipts. In fact, profits do not begin to appear until these charges have been met. Of course, in cases where the receipts are not sufficient to pay both interest and liquidation, the deficit is paid out of the general tax levy. For this reason we find that in Glasgow a very small percentage of the income from taxation is used for interest or liquidation charges. In Philadelphia, for the current year, the interest on loans will amount to \$2,734,222, while \$768,860 has been appropriated for the redemption of loans.

While, therefore, the municipal history of Glasgow gives evidence of a healthful development of the city's finances, there is no prospect that the rate of taxation will be greatly reduced. On the contrary, it is probable that the price of gas, water, etc., will be reduced to such a point as to make the profits comparatively small. This will, of course, necessitate an increase in the rate of taxation. From the broad standpoint of social development such a change must be regarded as desirable rather than otherwise.

SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES.

Consumers' League of New York.—The last annual report for the year 1897, published by the Consumers' League, of New York, contains many items of interest bearing on this work. We quote the following, and also a section from a special report by the Committee on Publications of the League, which will indicate some bibliographical references for those who are studying this movement.

"The first step in the progression of any philanthropic movement is the very important but difficult one to awaken the dormant sense of responsibility in the community for the existence of evils; the next step is to enlighten the community as to the means to remedy the evils.

"Hon. Robert Treat Paine, of Boston, in a paper read before the Nineteenth Century Club on 'Why is Systematic Charity Disliked?' stated, that one reason why many of the recipients disliked charity was, because they felt the injustice of being forced to accept it. He said that they very rightly felt that if, for instance, a merchant prince would offer fair, living wages to his saleswomen, there would not be so much misfortune and destitution, and he would not be called upon to dispense such large amounts for charitable purposes. Mr. Paine protested against the merchants who offer saleswomen \$4 or \$5 a week, upon which salary, he contended, they could not live decently, and who then pose as munificent dispensers of charity. I was tempted to interrupt Mr. Paine to suggest that he would not have exaggerated, had he stated that some saleswomen receive only \$2 and \$3 a week for their services.

"The Consumers' League is the practical exponent of the old adage: 'An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure.' It is the actual embodiment of the idea which Professor Marshall, of the University of Cambridge, advances: 'We must endeavor to turn consumption into the paths that strengthen the consumer, and call forth the best qualities of those who provide for consumption.'

* * * * *

"Conferences have been held with the president of the Merchants' Association, and with the secretary of the Retail Dry Goods Association, as well as with a representative of a Boston committee, to discuss the practicability of establishing, later on, a consumers' label, which will guarantee to consumers, that goods bearing such a label had been made under good conditions, and had been fairly paid for.

"All agreed that it would be useless to push the project until the public is ready to support it. Before business men will adopt such a label, it is necessary to impress upon the public its duty to investigate how its garments are made, just as it has learned to ascertain how its meat is slaughtered, and how its bread is baked. If customers demanded such a guarantee from merchants, the merchants would exact it from the manufacturers.

"The following prices are paid at the present time in this city for work done in tenement houses:

"Cambric dresses, with lined waists and some trimming, \$1.20 a dozen.

"Nightgowns, with tucked yokes (thread furnished by the maker) and insertion (cut out by the maker), \$1.00 a dozen.

"Silk waists, 98 cents a dozen.

"Women's wrappers, 49 cents a dozen.

"Coats are being finished at 36 cents a dozen.

"Shirts, 30 cents a dozen.

"Aprons, 22 cents a dozen.

"Neckties are being made at \$1.25 a gross.

"Knee pants, 50 cents a dozen.

"Vests, \$1.00 a dozen.

"Trousers, 12½ cents a pair.

"Coats, 32 cents each.

"Percentage off for boss sweaters and deduction for cost of cartage.

* * * * *

"The Governing Board has had its attention drawn to the *Maison Esperance*, which has recently been opened in London. Its leading features are those which should appeal especially to members of the Consumers' League.

"The main object of the company, as stated in its circular, is to undertake a dressmaking business on a commercially sound basis, which will preclude the clothing of one class of women in the flesh and blood of another class.

"The following are some of the conditions under which it is proposed to carry on the work:

"An eight hour working day.

"Fair wages.

"All profits, after payment of wages and necessary expenses, to be devoted to an extension of the business, in the interests of the workers.

"Work rooms to be bright, well ventilated, and amid healthy surroundings.

"No elaborate fitting rooms.

"Work rooms to be quite as sanitary and comfortable as fitting rooms.

"No goods to be delivered except on payment of cash.

"The accounts to be audited by a firm of chartered accountants, and the books and wage-sheets always to be open to inspection.

"The managers are women who have been interested for some years in Working Girls' Clubs, and they believe that, even amid the

present competitive chaos, their principles will, in the long run, hold their own, and triumph because they are righteous.

"One of the managers of the Consumers' League, who was in London during the past season, had a suit made at this establishment, and found it very satisfactory.

"The Children's Dressmaking Company, of New York, which is on our White List, was established on similar lines. It is co-operative, the employes receiving one-third of the annual profits. The stockholders receive one-third, and the remaining third goes into a sinking fund to pay for past or future losses.

"In the opinion of the stockholders, profit-sharing is the very best method of getting the best work out of saleswomen, as well as the best means of making them contented and happy.

"It is interesting to note that the clerks in one of the large department stores on the White List received a percentage on sales made during the Christmas holiday season. A newspaper article, commenting on this interesting experiment, mentioned, that it not only served to stimulate the sales, but improved the quality of the service, by making the employes more attentive and polite to customers. It was stated that this feature was so marked that it was frequently commented upon by patrons of the establishment.

"The Governing Board is glad also to have had brought to its notice the boxes of an English match manufacturer, who evidently recognizes the principles which the Consumers' League stands for, as the following sentence is printed on the boxes: 'Not injurious to those employed in the manufacture.'

"The Consumers' League has endorsed 'The Druggists' League for Shorter Hours.'

"I must reiterate my request of last year, that members of the Consumers' League, and all others interested in the welfare of working women and children, should refrain, as far as possible, from shopping after 5 p. m., and on Saturday afternoons, so that the early-hour closing and half-holiday movements may be agitated with better results.

"I would also urge upon all, the importance of refusing to receive packages delivered after 6 p. m. Delivery clerks have assured me, with tears in their eyes, that, if all customers would abide by this rule, they would be able to spend their evenings at home or in enjoying a little recreation, instead of working until late hours.

"If a large enough number of customers would leave word with the superintendents of the various shops that unless they can deliver all packages before 6 p. m., they do not wish them delivered until

the day following the purchase, the delivery wagons, instead of being delayed at the shops to suit exacting and inconsiderate customers, would be sent out earlier to meet the demand of the more considerate ones."

Report of Committee on Publications.—A full account of the history of the Consumers' League was printed in the report of the Convention of Working Women's Clubs, held in Philadelphia, April, 1897. This report (price 25 cents) may be obtained from Miss L. N. Platt, secretary, 237 South Eighteenth street, Philadelphia, Pa.

"The Consumers' League" is the title of a pamphlet written by Mr. John Graham Brooks (price 15 cents), and it can be ordered from the Co-operative Press, Austin street, Cambridge, Mass., or from the office of the Consumers' League, New York.*

The "White List," published by the Consumers' League, gives the names and addresses of those retail houses in New York, which so far as the board can learn, deal justly by their employes, and approach nearest to the principles and standard of the league. This list was published in the parish paper of St. Mary the Virgin, and the members of the league would greatly appreciate the courtesy and kindness of any editors of religious, secular, or social journals, if they would print this "White List" or any other paper about the league's work in their columns. The Governing Board of the league takes this opportunity to express its grateful acknowledgement of the kindness of the press in general during the past year, especially for the notices in the following journals, a list of which is appended for the convenience of the many inquirers for articles on the work of "The Consumers' League":

February 18, 1897, in the *Mail and Express*.

April 30, 1897, in the *New York Evening World*.

May 16, 1897 (supplement), in the *New York Journal*.

November 6, 1897, in the *New York Commercial Advertiser*.

November 21, 1897, in the *New York Times*.

December 26, 1897, in the *New York Times*.

January 5, 1898, in the *New York Evening Post*.

January 15, 1898, in the *Outlook*.

Instruction in Sociology.—The West Virginia University at Morgantown, W. Va., has very wisely decided to strengthen its courses in sociology for the summer quarter, which begins July 1, and continues twelve weeks. The quarter is divided into two terms of six

[* An abstract of addresses on the Consumers' League by Mr. Brooks and others at a recent meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science has been published in Bulletin No. 5. Price, fifteen cents.—EDITOR.]

weeks each, and students are privileged to enter for either term or for any portion of the quarter. The summer quarter work counts toward a degree the same as work done in any other quarter, and it is not, therefore, a summer school. All the departments of the university are in operation, and in addition to the regular faculty, specialists from other institutions deliver lectures. For the coming summer, Dr. Lester F. Ward, whose work in sociology is so widely known, has been secured to deliver two courses of class lectures, one on Pure Sociology, and the second on Applied Sociology. In these courses Dr. Ward will give an outline of his entire system of sociology. In addition to Dr. Ward's lectures, which begin on July 18, and continue four weeks—two lectures a day—he will give four public lectures of a more general character, as follows:

- (1) The Founder of Sociology, Auguste Comte.
- (2) Nature and Nurture, or Heredity and Opportunity.
- (3) The Increase and Diffusion of Knowledge.
- (4) Social Salvation by Faith—an analysis of Kidd's "Social Evolution."

Dr. Ward is also known as an authority on paleobotany, and for the benefit of those interested in this line of work he proposes to give a course of five public lectures on Plant Evolution.

Other special attractions to the student of sociology in connection with the summer quarter at the University of West Virginia include two courses on Money and Banking, and Industrial Problems, by Professor James H. Hamilton, of Syracuse University. President Jerome H. Raymond, of the University of West Virginia, gives two full courses, five days a week, throughout the entire summer quarter, on the Principles of Economics, and A Historical Survey of Sociological Thought. The latter course deals chiefly with the teachings of the more important modern sociologists. Besides these regular class lectures, President Raymond gives a series of public lectures on "A Group of Social Philosophers," as follows:

- (1) John Stuart Mill and Utilitarianism.
- (2) Charles Kingsley and Christian Socialism.
- (3) Thomas Carlyle and Paternalism.
- (4) John Ruskin and Aesthetics.
- (5) William Morris and Idealism.
- (6) Arnold Toynbee and Humanitarianism.

Miss Jane Addams, of Hull House, is scheduled for four lectures in the week beginning August 12, her subjects being the following:

- (1) Social Obligations of Citizenship.
- (2) The Social Theories of Count Tolstoi.
- (3) The Non-Resistance of Tolstoi versus the Non-Resistance of Jesus.
- (4) English and American Social Settlements.

Short courses have been arranged also by President E. Benjamin Andrews, of Brown University, and Professor Charles Zueblin, of Chicago University.

Vacant Lot Cultivation—Several times references have been made in these notes to the results of the Pingree Potato Patch plan of aiding the unemployed. Recently Dr. Frederic W. Speirs, Dr. S. M. Lindsay, and Mr. Franklin Kirkbride, constituting a committee of the Philadelphia Vacant Lots Cultivation Association, prepared a report covering the experience in the United States up to the present time. That report has been printed in the April number of the *Charities Review*. Considerable space is given to the methods of conducting this work, with a view to aiding those who wish to start similar work in other cities. One section of the report, however, will appeal to students of the subject who desire to get some idea of its extent and its results. The following summary of what has been done in the several cities of the United States furnishes a basis for a historical survey of the movement up to the present time.

From the reports which have been collected it is ascertained that vacant-lot farming was carried on during the last season, namely, that of the summer of 1897, in the following cities: Boston, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Chicago, Dayton (Ohio), Denver, Detroit, Duluth, Kansas City, Minneapolis, New York, Omaha, Philadelphia, Providence (Rhode Island), Reading, Seattle (Washington), and Springfield (Massachusetts). This list does not include several other cities which tried the plan in previous years, but gave it up for lack of interest, support, or success.

In Detroit the work has been taken up as a municipal enterprise under the management of the agricultural committee, which was appointed by Mayor Pingree for the purpose of relieving the unemployed, whose numbers were increasing greatly as a result of the hard times in the winter of 1893-94. During the year 1894 \$3600 was raised by subscription, but much time and service were given by city officials in the prosecution of the work. In 1895 \$5000 was appropriated by the common council for this purpose. In 1896 \$4000 was appropriated and the city poor commission selected all the families to whom lots were issued, with two exceptions assigned by the committee. The report of the agricultural committee for 1896 states that in the three years, 1894, 1895 and 1896, the city was saved an amount of taxation nearly equal to the difference between the total amount expended, \$10,893.35, and the value of the crops raised, \$72,790.10, or \$61,896.75, the net profit.

Buffalo is next in importance of the cities where the work has been put under municipal control. Mayor Hewett, of Buffalo,

started the work in 1895, and formed for the purpose the Buffalo Industrial Association. A subscription fund of \$2000 to defray expenses was raised, and one of the results of the work in that year was a noticeable falling off in the demands upon the poormaster for public relief. This fact, together with the gratifying financial results of the year 1895, enabled the mayor to procure the passage of an act by the legislature of New York to permit the city of Buffalo to appropriate funds for continuing the work. This act was passed in the spring of 1896, and the city council unanimously appropriated \$3500. A similar appropriation of \$3000 in amount was made by the council for the work in the year 1897, and the work was so economically conducted that the cost to the city for each plot of about one-third of an acre was only \$1.80, as against \$2.38 in 1896, and \$3.48 in 1895. The mayor's secretary states in a letter of recent date, that at least 10,590 persons were relieved in 1897, with an estimated saving to the city of nearly \$30,000; 700 acres of land were plowed at a contract price of \$2.85 per acre, and the land was harrowed, rolled and staked at a cost of thirty-five cents per hour. The average yield was about thirty bushels of potatoes to each one-third of an acre plot.

Boston is the only city that has rented all the land used from the start. Here for three years, on a farm of sixty acres, from fifty to eighty families have been assisted. Good records have been kept, and a normal view of such work can be obtained from this experiment. The total value of the crops each year, for three years, has been just about double the total amount expended. In the year 1896 it was estimated that the average gross yield per worker was \$34.15, and that, deducting from this sum the average amount contributed per worker, there was left a net yield per worker of \$20.33. The lots were taken by persons of several nationalities, but the majority were Americans. In 1896 thirty-two of the fifty-two persons who had lots in 1895 applied again. During the last season (1897) there was a blight and partial failure of the potato crop in Boston, but the superintendent states that the gardeners suffered less than many other New England farmers, and that the enhanced price, owing to the general scarcity, atoned in a measure for small crops. The average yield per lot was twenty-two bushels, and the prevailing prices ranged from ninety cents to \$1.40, while those for the previous year were fifty to sixty cents.

Brooklyn is another city that has tried the experiment for several years. At first a committee appointed by the mayor raised a fund by private subscription, and during the third and last season of 1897 the Associated Charities has had the work in charge. During the

first two years between five and six hundred dollars per year were expended, with results not wholly satisfactory. The land was very inaccessible and work was begun late in the season. Only a few persons availed themselves of the opportunity to take gardens, and this added to the proportionately high cost of superintendence. During the second and third years a notable feature of the work was the aid granted by the Brooklyn elevated railroad in giving the gardeners free transportation to and from their gardens by means of a free-ticket system carefully guarded from abuse.

In Denver the results during three years have been remarkably good from the financial point of view. The experiment has been conducted by a representative committee from the Associated Charities, the woman's club, and the public authorities. In 1897 the cash return from the sixty-six lots assigned amounted to \$525.15, in addition to the crops consumed by 376 persons. The total estimated cash value of crops has been from six to nine times the amounts expended. Of course this probably means that many necessary things were contributed without reckoning their money value in the item of cost. One-third of the gardens were allotted to women.

At Seattle, Washington, the work has been continued for three years with very even and satisfactory results. Very small lots are furnished, usually 40 by 100 feet in size. Tools were furnished during the first season, but not since. Of 200 applicants in 1897, fifty-six had held lots one year previously, and twenty-seven for two years previously. The money value of the crops is estimated at from four to nine times the money outlay.

New York City has perhaps done most of all to spread a knowledge of the methods and possibilities of this work. It was started there in 1895, under peculiar difficulties because of the scarcity of land, by a representative committee from several benevolent societies, but organized by and working under the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. During the first year a good-sized plot of ground was secured through Mr. Steinway, on Long Island, and the committee has had the able services of Mr. J. W. Kjelgaard, without cost, as superintendent. The most accurate social statistics concerning the applicants were filed. From these records it is possible to see just how much preparation for garden work each individual had, and it was found to be, as a rule, very little. The financial returns indicated during the first two years between two and three dollars in crops for every dollar of expense. During the past season we see a curious illustration of the limitations of this work. It was found impossible to secure in the city any quantity of land that could be economically worked, and so

only a few allotments were made. No detailed financial record was kept, but the superintendent reports that most of the farmers did well, and that the committee went to little or no expense for seed, tools, etc.

Rochester, New York, began the work in 1895 under the direction of the [overseer of the poor. Owners of lots in the suburbs rented them for the purpose, and the men applying for aid were given tickets for so many days' work on these lots. Potatoes only were tried. The scheme was not considered very satisfactory as to results, because the work given was not steady and the workers had no interest in the gardens. The men were paid wages. The crops were good; 2300 bushels of potatoes were harvested and distributed by the overseer among needy applicants during the following winter. About two days' work were given each week to each man, so that he could earn from \$3 to \$4.50 per week, but these wages were paid in fuel or provisions from the poor store. Thus it is seen that the Rochester experiment was not in reality along the lines of vacant-lot farming, but rather a method of furnishing employment by the city and distributing outdoor relief.

From Philadelphia, Chicago, Dayton (Ohio), Providence (Rhode Island), and Kansas City, the reports for the past season are those of their first year. All have profited by the experience elsewhere, and all report most encouraging results. Philadelphia had about twenty-seven acres under cultivation in ninety-six allotments, which showed an average yield of \$61 per lot and a return of more than \$3 for every dollar expended throughout the whole experiment.

In Chicago forty acres were under cultivation in 148 allotments. The land was located at Englewood and the work managed by the Bureau of Charities. Lots were usually 33 by 300 feet in size. Thirteen nationalities were represented among the gardeners, though Americans predominated. Sixteen different kinds of vegetables were raised.

An outgrowth of the summer's work has been the formation among the gardeners and their friends of a regular society called the People's Friendly Club, which meets every Saturday night to enjoy a program given mainly by the members themselves, and including a discussion of social questions. Two special meetings have also been held in one of the schools where audiences of 300 gardeners and friends have been gathered. This altered application of the Pingree Potato Patch plan is the first of its kind in Chicago. The gardeners' club is the first of its kind in the country, and of all the seventeen cities which have inaugurated the cultivation of vacant

lots by the needy, it is in Englewood alone that arrangements have been made to lead the lot holders to pay all their own expenses for plowing and seeds.

At Dayton, Ohio, the work was undertaken by the Associated Charities and the Single Tax Club. About forty acres were planted and 167 families, representing about 650 persons, took lots of about a quarter of an acre each.

The reports indicate a financial success, and plans are being made to make an early start in 1898 on a very much larger scale than last year. The crops were as follows: Potatoes, 1985 bushels; turnips, 70 bushels; tomatoes, 75 bushels; corn, 3225 dozen; beans, 175 bushels; cabbage, 5020 heads; beets, 40 bushels; cucumbers, 5000; besides lettuce, radishes, etc.

At Kansas City the work was begun in 1897 by the agricultural commission, which secured from the Provident Association of that city a list of dependents.

One hundred and ten allotments were made from the names thus received; eight were found unsuitable applicants, or their lots for other reasons were not planted; four lots were abandoned, leaving ninety-eight from which reports of crops were returned. The superintendent endeavored to get correct reports from each lot of the quantity of produce harvested. It is interesting to notice the variety of crops in this report: Potatoes, 1770 bushels; turnips, 229 bushels; onions, $42\frac{1}{2}$ bushels; beets, $315\frac{1}{2}$ bushels; beans, $440\frac{1}{2}$ bushels; tomatoes, 155 bushels; cabbage, 832 heads; corn, 1071 dozen; melons, 280; squashes, 16; peas, $37\frac{1}{4}$ bushels; radishes, 996 dozen; lettuce, $22\frac{1}{2}$ bushels; cucumbers, 165; sweet potatoes, 30 bushels; mustard greens, 24 bushels; okra, 2; navy shelled peas, 2 bushels. To these quantities the superintendent assigned cash values based on the average price of the various products throughout the season.

At Duluth, Minnesota, the work was carried on during the past season, as indeed it had been for two years previous, by Bishop McGolrick, of the pro-cathedral, to whom land was freely offered for the purpose. He assigned plots to various persons, giving them such suggestions and personal help as possible without furnishing them with any tools, seed, or direct financial aid in cultivation. The bishop says that 120 families were assisted in this way, and that the results indicate to him that with organization the plan could be made a very effective means of furnishing temporary relief in cases of need.

At Reading, Pennsylvania, a citizens' committee was organized in pursuance of a resolution passed in April, 1896. The committee,

appointed by the mayor, consisted of representatives of both select and common councils and private citizens. The first meeting of the committee was held April 20, and a general invitation extended through the newspapers to the worthy unemployed of the city to avail themselves of this opportunity of assistance. A circular letter was sent out May 1 to all those to whom assistance was afforded by the Reading Relief Society and other benevolent organizations. About sixteen acres of land were secured and divided up in lots of about one-sixth of an acre each; 106 applications were received and allotments made to ninety-one families, with 316 children, representing four nationalities; namely, American, 84; Irish, 3; German, 3; and French, 1. City councils appropriated \$400 to carry on the work, of which \$317.63 was expended. On October 12 a circular letter was mailed to each of the farmers requesting a complete report of the products of the season. The yield, calculated at the average market price, was estimated at \$900. The season was one characteristic of extreme drought, and work was begun very late, otherwise the results might have been very much more encouraging. Still, as it was, the return showed about three dollars in value to every dollar expended. The crops were as follows: 450 bushels of potatoes; 250 bushels of beans; 20 bushels of peas; 30 bushels of red beets; turnips, 30 bushels; radishes, 30 bushels; tomatoes, 30 bushels; corn, 935 dozen; cabbage, 1450 heads; lettuce, 1400 heads; cucumbers, 3500; celery, 500 stalks.

Throughout the whole range of experience during the season of 1897 as indicated in the reports from the various cities enumerated above, we can draw a few very general lessons common to all. As in previous years, the degree of success in the amount and value of crops obtained depended largely upon the promptness with which work was begun at the opening of the farming season in the respective localities. This has been one of the chief difficulties, because, as a rule, the persons interested in promoting the work do not become aroused until about the time that it should have been begun, and where this is the case work is not actually started until several weeks have passed in preparation, in the raising of funds and securing of lands, with correspondingly damaging results in the harvest. Notwithstanding all the drawbacks and the ignorance of the workers concerning farming methods in general, the financial return has been satisfactory to both the workers and to those in charge of the several movements. Where the work has been discontinued it has usually been for reasons other than lack of encouraging financial results. In many cases of fairly reliable statistical data it is evident that the promoters or committees in charge, had they

pocketed the proceeds, would have realized from three to four dollars for every dollar expended. It is this fact that makes the prospects of the movement good and warrants the belief that though in an embryonic stage of development at present it will persist until it has been given a fair trial, and until there is more abundant evidence to prove either its utility or its inadequateness as a means of assisting the unemployed in a way that will increase rather than diminish their self-respect, and give them something possessing educational value in relation to their future welfare.

Perhaps a word should be said about the quality of the crops raised and the methods of marketing them. As a rule, especially in the larger cities supplied with vegetables from a distance, the vacant-lot farmers have been able to supply customers in the immediate neighborhood with goods of a superior quality and freshness to those obtained in the regular markets. On this account they have obtained, as a rule, the highest market prices, and sometimes prices slightly in excess of the best prices paid in the market. The individual care spent upon some gardens has told upon the quality of the crop, and it is not an exaggeration to say that in many cases a personal interest is felt by the gardener in single specimens of vegetables obtained from his lot. These prize crops were, as a rule, amply rewarded when offered for sale, and it has had a wholesome educational effect in proving to those who had often been the drudges of machine industry in the past that the individual artistic spirit, even when applied to potato culture, has its ample reward for the worker, both in self-satisfaction and for his pocket-book. In a few places an attempt to stimulate the best work by offering prizes has been tried. The American Institute exhibit at Madison Square Garden, New York, and also the City Live Stock show, in the same city, offered to award several prizes to vacant-lot farmers. One Brooklyn gardener received \$9.50 in premiums for crops put in competition with those of the regular truckers.

BOOKS RECEIVED FROM JANUARY 25 TO MARCH 25, 1898.

- Adams, M. J., History of Suffrage in Michigan. (Pub. of Michigan Political Science Association. Vol. III., No. 1.) \$0.50.
- Apostol, P., Das Artjél (Münchener Volkswirtschaftliche Studien, XXV). Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta.
- Ash, M., Greater New York Charter as Enacted in 1897. Albany: Weed-Parsons Co.
- Bodley, J. E. C., France. 2 vols. Macmillan. \$4.00.
- Brough, Wm., Open Mints and Free Banking. Putnams. \$1.25.
- Callahan, J. M., Neutrality of the American Lakes and Anglo-American Relations. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. \$1.50.
- Coghlan, T. A., Wealth and Progress of New South Wales, 1896-97. Sydney: W. A. Gullick.
- Cornwell, W. C., Sound Money Monographs. Putnams. \$1.00.
- Davidson, J., Bargain Theory of Wages. Putnams. \$1.50.
- Dunbar, W. H., Government by Injunction. (Economic Studies, Vol. III., No. 1.) Macmillan. \$0.50.
- Dunning, W. A., Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction. Macmillan. \$2.00.
- Durand, E. D., Finances of New York City. Macmillan. \$2.00.
- Dyhrenfurth, G., Die hausindustriellen Arbeiterinnen in der Berliner Blusen-, Unterrock-, Schurzen- und Tricotkonfektion. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot 2.80 m.
- Fisher, J. A., Railway Accounts and Finance. London: Bemrose & Sons. 7s. 6d.
- Francisco, M. J., Municipal Ownership vs. Private Corporations. Rutland, Vt.: M. J. Francisco & Son. \$0.50.
- Garelli, Alessandro, La Proprietà sociale. 2 vols. Milan: Hoepli. 15 lira.
- Gladden, W., Social Facts and Forces. Putnams. \$1.25.
- Gomme, G. L., Lectures on Principles of Local Government. London: Constable. 12 s.
- Gross, C., Bibliography of British Municipal History. (Harvard Historical Studies, Vol. V.) Longmans. \$2.50.
- Hodder, E., Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury as a Social Reformer. Revell Co. \$1.00.
- Judson, F. N., Justice in Taxation as a Remedy for Social Discontent. St. Louis: Nixon-Jones Co.
- Kuczynski, R., Der Zug Nach der Stadt. (Münchener Volkswirtschaftliche Studien, XXIV.) Stuttgart: Cotta.
- Lebon, A., Cent Ans d'Histoire intérieure 1789-1895. Paris: Colin. 4 fr.
- Mackay, Thos., The State and Charity. Macmillan.
- McVey, F. L., Minnesota: A Handbook of Information Concerning the State, its Government, Officers and Resources. Minneapolis: Univ. Book Store.
- Mill, H. R., Hints to Teachers and Students on Choice of Geographical Books for Reference and Reading. Longmans.
- Nouveau Dictionnaire de Geographie Universelle. Suppléments, 10^e et 11^e fascicule. Paris: Hachette. 2.50 fr.
- Noyes, A. D., Thirty Years of American Finance. Putnams. \$1.25.
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INDEX OF NAMES.

ABBREVIATIONS.—In the Index the following abbreviations have been used: *pap.*, principal paper by the person named; *com.*, briefer communication, by the person named; *b.*, review of book of which the person named is the author; *p. n.*, personal note on the person named; *r.*, review by the person named; *trans.*, translation by the person named; *mis.*, miscellany by the person named.

When the figures are in italics and preceded by the letter *B*, the references are to the "Bulletins" of the Academy, Nos. 1-5.

Abbott, Professor, 272
Ableman, 407
Adams, Brooks, *B. 6*
Adams, C. F., 423
Adams, G. B., 299
Adams, Henry, 89
Adams, H. C., 272
Adams, John, 100
Adams, John Quincy, 91, 354
Adams, Mrs. John Q., *B. 18*
Adams, M. J., 447
Addams, Jane, 439
Ahrens, H., 152 et seq.
Alcuin, 137
Alden, George H., 246 *b.*
Alexander I., 150
Alexander II., 151 et seq.
Alexander III., 151 et seq.
Alexander VI., 96
Allard, A., 396 *b.*
Allen, W. S., 423
Allen, W. V., 49
Allison, W. B., 192
Alva, Duke of, 368
Ames, H. V., 405-7 *r.*
Andler, Charles, 248 *b.*
Andrews, C. M., 241, 411-15 *r.*
Andrews, E. B., 440
Apostol, P., 447
d'Araujo, O., 109 et seq.
Aristotle, 169, *B. 7*
Ash, M., 235 *b.*, 447
Atkinson, E., 396
Audubon, J. J., *B. 38*
Avery, E. M., 272
d'Azeglio, 415

Bacon, N. T., 237
Bagehot, W., *B. 4*
Bancroft, George, 11
Bastable, C. F., *B. 5*
Bastiat, F., 385
Baxter, S., 119, 281, 425
Benezet, 11
Bernhelm, E., 241
von Bismarck, O., 129, 401, 414
Black, F. S., 181, 269
Blake, 11
Blanc, L., 399
Blanchard, George R., 245
Bland, R. P., 192
Bliss, W. D. P., 299, 398 *b.*
Bluntschli, J. K., 358, 387
Bobrzynski, M., 169

Bodley, J. E. C., 447
Bolivar, 367
Bonaparte, C. J., 269, 271
Bonaparte, Napoleon, *see* Napoleon
Bonnet, A., 109
Bonsal, E. G., 377 et seq.
Booth, 407
Booth, Chas., 132
Bosca, A., *B. 7*
Botero, 245
Brace, C. Loring, 297
Brackett, 11
de Bracton, H., 157
Bradford, Wm., 97
Bradley, Mrs. L., *B. 18*
Branson, W. J., 381-83 *com.*
Bray, Dr., 411
Brentano, L., 387
de Brienne, Lomenie, 99
Brinton, D. G., 299
Brooks, John G., 438, *B. 21, B. 33, B. 37*
Brough, Wm., 447
Brown, A. V., 373
Brown, John, 299
Brown, Major, 277
Bruce, 11
Bryce, J., 11, 152, 171, 401
Bulle, 413
Burgess, J. W., 89 *b.*
Butler, A. J., 259
Buxton, T. F., 11

Cable, George W., 11
Cadwallader, S., 135
Cairnes, J. E., 11
Calhoun, Thomas, 84
Callahan, J. M., 447
Calvo, 359
Campanella, 245
Cardross, Lord, 409
Carey, H. C., 11, 395
Carlyle, T., 439
Carnot, F. S., 401
Catharine II., 150
Cavagliari, G., *B. 8*
di Cavour, C., 413, 415
Cellini, B., *B. 34*
Chadsey, C. E., 236 *b.*
Chamberlain, E. T., 242 *b.*
Chambers, 11
Chance, W., 299
Channing, Edward, 96, 299, 390 *b.*
Chapman, J. J., *B. 62*
Chapman, J. W., Jr., 299, 391 *b.*

ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY.

Charlemagne, 25, 42, 157, 168
 Chittenden, S. B., 113
 Clarkson, T., 11
 Clay, A. G., 130
 Clay, Henry, 373
 Clemenceau, 402
 Cleveland, Grover, 81 *b.*, 299, 365, 376, 379
 Clive, Robert, 83
 Clothier, C., *B.* 22, *B.* 42
 Coates, Mrs. E. H., *B.* 18
 Cobb, 11
 Coghlan, T. A., 299, 447
 Cognetti de Martiis, S., *B.* 8
 Cohn, G., 81 *b.*
 Colfax, S., 395
 Columbus, Christopher, 96
 Comte, A., 262, 439
 Conrad, J., 398
 Copley, 11
 Cornwell, W. C., 447
 Cortes, H., 97
 Coste, A., 109
 Cotton, John, 411
 de Coubertin, P., 400 *b.*
 Cournot, A., 237 *b.*, 299
 Coutts, W. A., 92 *b.*
 Crapo, W. W., 423
 Crittenden, 367
 Crooker, J. H., 299
 Cushing C., 376

Dalz, 370
 Dana, 367 et seq.
 Dana, F., 355
 Daniels, W. M., 273
 Darwin, C., 111
 Davenport, H. J., 237 *b.*
 Davidson, John, 241, 403 *b.*, 447
 Davis, G. B., 363
 Dawson, M. M., *B.* 10, *B.* 25
 Deane, S., 248
 DeBow, J. D. B., 11
 Decugis, H., 109
 Delano, E., 130
 De Lome, Dupuy, 377
 Deming, H. E., 271
 Deschanel, 39
 De Soto, F., 97
 Devine, E. T., 225-26 *com.*, 235, 297, *B.* 63
 Dike, S. W., *B.* 62
 Diogenes, 173
 Dole, C. F., 299
 Doniol, H., 81 *b.*
 Dorado, P., 109 et seq.
 Douglass, Wm., 299
 DuBois, W. E. B., 1-23 *pap.*, *B.* 1, *B.* 10,
B. 17
 Dulles, Mrs. Perit, 130
 Dunbar, W. H., 447
 Dunning, W. A., 447, *B.* 62
 Dupuy, 40
 Durand, E. D., 174-90 *pap.*, 447
 Durkheim, 264
 Dyhrenfurth, G., 447

Eckert, C., 299
 Eden, 96
 Edwards, C., 299
 Egerton, H. E., 250 *b.*, 299
 Eicken, 156
 Ela, 269
 Eliot, C. W., 299, 391 *b.*

Elster, 386
 Emerson, R. W., *B.* 15
 Espinas, A., 109 et seq.
 Evans, 129
 Fairbanks, A., *B.* 62
 Fairlie, J. A., 54-78 *pap.*, *B.* 17
 Falkner, R. P., 235, 255-59 *r.*, 417-19 *r.*, *B.* 6, *B.* 10, *B.* 27, *B.* 61 et seq.
 Farrer, T. H., *B.* 5
 Ferdinand, 414
 Ferdinand V., 96
 Fermat, *B.* 23
 Ferre, S., 245
 Ferry, Jules, 401, 414 et seq.
 Finch, John, *B.* 27
 Fiore, 359
 Fish, Hamilton, 376
 Fisher, I., 82 *b.*, 237, 299
 Fisher, J. A., 447
 Fisk, G. M., 82 *b.*, 106-8 *r.*
 Fiske, John, 96
 Folks, Homer, 297
 Fortune, 11
 Foulke, 269
 Fouse, L. G., *B.* 9, *B.* 23, *B.* 26
 de Foville, 325
 Fox, Miss Hannah, *B.* 18
 Fraas, 102
 Francisco, M. J., 447
 Franklin, B., 247
 Fraser, 188
 Frazer, Mrs. P., *B.* 18
 Frazer, R. W., 83 *b.*
 Friedrich II., 388.
 Fryer, G. E., *B.* 26
 Fullerton, Mrs. G. S., *B.* 18
 Funck-Brentano, 361
 Furness, 129
 Gage, L. J., 191, 217, 242 et seq., *B.* 31, *B.* 51, *B.* 54, *B.* 59
 Gambetta, L., 401
 Gannett, 11
 Gans, E., 248
 Gardiner, H. B., 272 et seq.
 Garelli, A., 447
 Garofalo, R., 109 et seq., 245
 Gavit, John P., 292
 Geffcken, H., 388 *p. n.*
 Geffcken, J., 388
 Giddings, F. H., 130, 272, 297, *B.* 4, *B.* 24,
B. 61 et seq.
 Gilbert, Humphrey, 97
 Gillespie, Mrs. E. D., *B.* 18
 Giner de los Rios, F., 109
 Gladden, M., 447.
 Gomara, 97
 Gomme, G. L., 447
 Goodell, 11
 Goodnow, F. J., 244, 252 *b.*, *B.* 16
 Goodrich, William H., 136
 Gottl, F., 227 *b.*
 Gould, E. R. L., 297
 Graham, R., 297
 Grant, U., S. 271
 de la Grasserie, R., 109 et seq., 245
 Gray, J. H., 272 et seq.
 de Greef, G., 151 et seq., 238 *b.*
 Greeley, H., 11
 Greenidge, A. H. J., 94 *b.*
 Gregory VII., 154, 156

INDEX OF NAMES.

Gross, C., 447
Grosvenor, C. H., 269
Grotius, 360
Guernsey, R. S., 299
Gumplowicz, L., 137 et seq., 161 et seq.

Hadley, A. T., 272 et seq.
Haight, W. C., 299
Haines, E. W., 135
Haines, H. S., 239 b., 299
Haklyt, R., 97
Hall, 353 et seq.
von Halle, E., 11, 83 b.
Halstead, M., 367 et seq.
Hamilton, A., 395
Hamilton, Jas. H., 44-53 pcp., 439, B, 17
Hammond, M. B., 299
Hanotaux, P., 414
Hapgood, Isabel F., 400
Harris, George, 239 b., 299
Harris, W. T., 21
Harrison, C. C., B. 11, B. 63
Harrison, Mrs. C. C., B. 18, B. 61 et seq.
Hart, A. B., 94 b., 406
Hartwell, E. M., 282, 424
Hassall, A., 84 b., 299
Hastings, Warren, 83
Hayes, E. B., 423
Hayne, R. Y., 406
Haynes, Geo. H., 94-98 r.
Hazard, 247
Hazen, C. D., 98 b., 299
Heftler, A. W., 358 et seq.
Hegel, G. W., 147 et seq., 248
Heitz, E., 300
Helper, 11
Henry IV., 154
Herriott, John, 85 b.
Hershey, A. S., 353-80 pap.
Hertzka, 330
Hewett, 440
Heyer, G., 300
Hill, Rowland, 344
Historicus, 356
Hitchcock, H., 270
Hodder, E., 447
Hodges, Geo., 86 b.
Hoffman, 11
Holland, 362
Hollander, J. H., 425
Holls, F. W., 130
Holm, 94
Holmes, M. J., 288
von Holst, H., 11
Howe, F. C., 429
Hucke, J., 300
Hull, C. H., 272 et seq.
Hunt, Mrs., 130
Hurd, 11
Hutchinson, Ann, 97

Immermann, K., 368
Ingle, 11
Isabella, 96
Ivan IV., 141

Jackson, A., 90 et seq., 215
Jacquemyns, R., 363
Jakob, 102
Jakstein, 300
James, Edmund J., 392 b., B. 7, B. 61 et seq.

Jefferson, T., 90, 99, 364
Jenks, J. W., 248-50 r.
Jevons, W. S., 237
Johnson, A., 236
Johnson, E. R., 104-6 r., 250-52 r., E. 64
Johnson, Mrs. E. R., B. 18
Johnson, J. F., 191-221 pap., B. 27, E. 30, B. 48 et seq., B. 59
Johnston, H. P., 300
Jones, Mrs. J. S., 130
Judson, F. N., 447
Jung, E., 300

Kaehler, W., 240 b.
Kalousek, J., 168
Kanitz, Count, 108
Kariéef, N., 109 et seq.
Kaiser, 300
Keasbey, L. M., 259-63 r.
Kelft, 97
Kemble, 11
Keogh, M. J., 113
Kerby, W. J., 300
Kidd, B., 439
Kingsley, C., 439, B. 35
Kinley, D., 396-98 r.
Kirkbride, F. B., 127, 130, 440
Kjelgaard, J. W., 442
Knight, G. W., 272
Knox, H., 100
Komorzynski, 229
Koren, John, 225, 235
Kovalewsky, M., 245
de Krauz, C., 109 et seq., 210
Krusinski, S., 245
Kuczynski, R., 447

Labriola, A., 86 b.
Laidlaw, W., 297
Lambert, A., 109 et seq.
Langlois, C. V., 211 b.
Las Casas, B., 96
Lassalle, F., 248
Launhardt, 336
Lawrence, John, 83
Lawrence, T. J., 354 et seq.
Lebon, A., 447
Le Bon, G., 264
Lechford, T., 97
Lee, 247
Lent, E. B., 422
Leroy-Beaulieu, P., 79 b.
de Lesseps, F., 57
de Lestrade, G. Combes, 245
Levasseur, E., B. 6
de Lillienfeld, Paul, 109 et seq., 244
Limousin, C., 109 et seq., 245
Lincoln, Abraham, 236
Lincoln, C. H., 98-100 r., 415-17 r.
Lindsay, Anna R. B., 91, B. 18
Lindsay, S. M., 87, 109-12 trans., 267-68 r., 398-400 r., 440, B. 11, B. 20, B. 33, B. 48, B. 61 et seq.
List, F., 248, 395
Locke, J., 408, 410
Loos, I., B. 7
Lopez, N., 367
Loria, A., 109 et seq.
Lotz, W., 387 p. n.
Louis XIV., 25
Louis the Pious, 157
Low, Seth, 115

ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY.

- Lowrie, Sarah D., 130
 Lowrie, Walter, 130
 Lubin, D., 92
 Lyall, Alfred, 83
 Lyman, H. H., 294
- Macdonald, W., 300, 405 b.
 Mackay, Thomas, 447
 Mackenzie, J. S., *B. 4*
 de MacMahon, P. N., 401
 Macon, N., 385
 Madison, James, 91
 Malster, 425
 Maltbie, M. R., 100 b.
 Manouvrier, L., 109
 Mansel H., 402
 de Manteuffel, General, 81
 Marie, L. E., 129
 von Marquardsen, H., 255, 386 p. n.
 Marshall, A., 435, *B. 33*
 Martineau, Harriet, 11
 Marx, Karl, 86, 151
 Mataja, V., 385 p. n.
 Mather, Mrs. S., 134 et seq.
 Matthew, 148
 Matthews, *B. 16*
 May, M. B., 269-71 *mis.*, 427
 Mayo-Smith, R., 180, 255, 272, 297
 von Mayr, Georg, 255 b.
 McAneny, George, 269 et seq.
 McBurney, R. R., 297
 McConway, 188
 McCrady, Edward, 300, 407 b.
 McDougall, Miss, 11
 McGolrick, 444
 McKinley, William, 222, 270, 379, 397
 McLean, F. H., 124
 McMaster, J. B., 89, *B. 11*
 McMurtrie, Miss Mary, *B. 18*
 McVey, F. L., 447
 Meltzen, A., 256, 300, 393 b.
 Metternich, Prince, 150
 Meyer, B. H., *B. 7*
 Mikhailowsky, N., 300
 Mill, H. R., 447
 Mill, J. S., 439, *B. 33*
 von Mohl, R., 139
 Money, H. D., 375
 Monin, H., 109 et seq.
 Monnet, 28
 Monroe, James, 98, 354, 364 et seq.
 Morris, G., 99
 Morris, William, 439
 Montesquieu, Chas., 151
 Muelberger, A., 102 b.
 Mueller, 413
 Mulhall, M., 235
 Munro, D. C., 94 r.
 de Musset, A., 401
- Napoleon I., 29, 150, 366, 413
 Napoleon III., 36
 Nathan, Mrs. F., *B. 44*
 Necker, J., 99
 Nicholas I., 150 et seq.
 Nicol, J., 431
 Noerdling, 336
 Novicow, J., 109 et seq., 264
 Noyes, A. D., 241, 447
- O'Brien, Judge, 113
 von Oettingen, A., 400
- Olmstead, G., 407
 Olmsted, 11
 Otken, 11
- Page, Miss Ethel, *B. 13*
 Paine, R. T., 435
 Palgrave, R. H. I., 398
 Palma, 372
 Pando, General, 370
 Paparrigopoulos, 160
 Parkman, F., 97
 Pascal, B., *B. 23*
 Patten, S. N., *B. 4, B. 5*
 Patterson, C. S., *B. 30, B. 54, B. 51*
 Patterson, Mrs. C. S., *B. 18*
 Pawinski, A., 166
 Peckham, George, 97
 Pemberton, Miss C. H., *B. 16*
 Pertez, 157
 Peter the Great, 140, 146
 Peter III., 150
 Phillimore, R., 358
 von Philippovich, 255
 Phillips, Miles, 97
 Philippe Auguste, 25, 42
 Phillips, H. L., *B. 14*
 Photius, 156
 Picard, A., 328
 Pingree, H. S., 440
 Pizarro, 97
 Platt, Miss L. N., 438
 Ploetz, 84
 Pollock, F., 157
 Poor, H. V., 325 et seq.
 Posada, A., 245
 Pownall, T., 247
 Preston, 406
 Pryor, J. W., 115, 421
 Pugila, F., 109 et seq., 245
- Quay, M. S., 269
 Quincy, Josiah, 281
- Rae, J., 395
 Ramsey, 367 et seq.
 Ratzel, F., 259 b.
 Raymond, J. H., 439
 Reizenstein, M., 87 b.
 Renard, G., 393 b., 447
 Rhys-Davids, T. W., 300
 Ribot, 40
 Ricardo, D., 215
 Richardson, A. L., 122
 Richelieu, 26
 Richmond, Miss Mary E., *B. 63*
 Ridpath, J. C., *B. 6*
 Righter, W. H., *B. 63* et seq.
 Riis, J. A., 297
 Roberts, 118
 Robinson, H. P., 245, 300
 Robinson, James H., 400-3 r
 Robinson, M. H., 384 p. n.
 Rodbertus, K., 248
 Roder, 152
 Rodgers, 269
 Roosevelt, T., 447
 Roscher, W., 165, 396
 Roseberry, Lord, 47
 Rosewater, V., 429
 Ross, 264
 Rotteck, K., 387
 Rousseau, J. J., 265

INDEX OF NAMES.

Rowan, A., 367 et seq.
Rowe, L. S., 244, 252-55 r., 301-23 pap., B.
16, B. 62, B. 64
Ruskin, John, 439

de Saint-Vallier, Comte, 81
Sanders, F. W., 447
von Savigny, F., 248
Sax, 329
Schmoller, G., 447
Schultze, W., 87 b.
Schurz, C., 269 et seq.
Scott, Dred, 92, 406
Scott, William A., 92-93 r.
Seager, H. R., 272, B. 22, B. 57
See, P., 448
Seignobos, C., 241 b., 411 b.
Shaforth, J. F., 397
Shaftsbury, Earl of, 447
Shambaugh, B. F., 246-48 r., 300, 448
Sharpless, I., 448
Shaw, A., 44 et seq., 244, 270, 400
Sheafer, William L., 122
Sheldon, 104
Shepherd, F. S., 384 p. n.
Sherman, John, 192
Sherwood, S., 300, 394 b., 403-5 r.
Sieber, 400
Sigel, F., 137-73 pap.
Sikes, E. W., 384 p. n.
Simmel, G., 264
Small, A. W., 289
Smart, William, 400, 448
Smith, E. B., 271
Smith, John, 97
Smith, L. S., 130
Smith, Rufus B., 271
Sorel, A., 361
Sorel, G., 86
Soulier, H., 300, 415 b.
Speirs, F. W., 440
Spencer, H., 158, 266, 300, 387
Spotswood, Governor, 246
Stambuloff, 169
Starcke, C. N., 109 et seq.
Stein, L., 109 et seq.
Steiner, B. C., 407-11 r.
Steinmetz, S. R., 109 et seq.
Steinway, 442
Stephens, H. Morse, 272
Stewart, J. L., 89-92 r., 391 r., B. 62
Stickney, A., 104 b., 300
Storey, M., 270
Strauss, P., B. 8
Strawbridge, B. 22, B. 42
Stroever, C., B. 7
Strong, J., 297
Strong, W., 184 et seq., 276
Stroud, 11
Stuckenborg, J. H. W., 448
Surgi, G., B. 8
Swank, J. M., 300, 395 b.

Taft, William H., 271
Talbot, William, 410
Tangorra, V., B. 8
Tardie, G., 109 et seq., 245
Taussig, F. W., 272 et seq., B. 6
Taylor, F. M., 272
Taylor, W. G. L., 227-34 com.
Taylor, H., 380
Tedeschi, E. E., B. 8

Tewfik Pasha, 362
Thiers, L. A., 81, 401
Thomas, D. A., 88 b.
von Thuenen, 248
Thurston, L. A., 300
de Tocqueville, A., 11, 401
Tolman, W. H., 297
von Tolstoi, I., 439
Tourgée, A. W., 11
Tower, Charlemagne, Jr., 130
Toynbee, A., 292, 439
Trask, S., 297
Troeltsch, W., 388, p. n.
Trott, Nicholas, 410
Tucker, 366
Turgot, 448
Tyler, M. C., 241
Tylor, E. B., 259
Tynte, Governor, 411

Ulrich, 325

Vanderlip, F. A., B. 29, B. 48
Van Wyck, R., 115
Vattel, E., 358 et seq.
Vincent, George E., 264 b., 289, 300
Virtue, G. O., 80

Walker, A. F., 245
Walker, F. A., 408
Walker, Susan G., 293
Waltsee-Mueller, M., 96
Wanamaker, John, 46 et seq., B. 22, B. 33
Warburton, B. H., 130
Ward, L. F., 109 et seq., 151 et seq., 264-67
r., 439, 448
Waring, George E., Jr., 276
Warner, A. G., 131
Warner, A. J., 273
Washington, George, 90, 364 et seq.
Watmough, Miss A. E., B. 47
Webb, Beatrice, 448
Webb, Sidney, 448
Webster, Daniel, 406
Welcker, 387
Wenge, W., B. 6
Wernicke, J., 106 b.
West, Max, 426
Weyl, Walter E., 102-4 r., 324-52 pap.
Weyler, General, 377 et seq.
Wharton, F., 354, 373, 376
Wheaton, H., 355
Wheeler, 11
White, Horace, 273
Whiting, W. D., B. 10, B. 26
von Wieser, F., 400
Wilcox, D. F., 244 b., B. 16
Wilcox, W. F., 273, 300, 417 b.
Willey, F. O., 448
William H., 402
Williams, 11
Williams, D. H., B. 12
Willson, Mrs. R. N., B. 18
Wilson, 11
Wilson, Geo. C., B. 68
Wilson, W. P., B. 68
Wines, F. H., 225, 235, B. 7, B. 63
Winsor, J., 96
Winthrop, John, 97
Wolcott, E. O., 397
Wolf, J., 386 p. n., 395, B. 18
Wood, Chas., B. 15

ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY.

Wood, T. W., 300
 Woolsey, T. D., 359
 Woodruff, C. R., 269
 Worms, E., 109 et seq.
 Worms, R., 109-12 *mis.*, 110 et seq., 244 b.
 Wright, C. D., 272

Wyckoff, W. A., 267-*b.*, 300
 Young, James T., 24-43 *pap.*, 100-1 *r.*, B. 1.
 Zenker, E. V., 300
 Zueblin, C. J., 289, 440

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

[N. B.—Titles of papers are printed in small capitals. When the figures are in italics and preceded by the letter *B*, the references are to the "Bulletins" of the Academy, Nos. 1-5.]

- Academy meetings, Announcements of, *B. 1, B. 9, B. 21, B. 27, B. 29, B. 30, B. 61*; Reports of, *B. 10, B. 23, B. 33, B. 43*
 Academy work, *B. 2, B. 3, B. 4, B. 6, B. 7, B. 16, B. 17, B. 18, B. 19, B. 22*
 Administration. ADMINISTRATIVE CENTRALIZATION AND DECENTRALIZATION IN FRANCE, 24-43; Growth of centralization, 24; Decay of provincial institutions, 26; Revolutionary legislation, 27; Its failure, 28; Centralization restored, 28; Its weakness, 30; Effect on political training, 31; Influence on commerce, 32; Corruption and extravagance, 32; Its hold on political life, 33; Efforts towards reform, 37; Recent laws, 38; Further reforms planned, 40
 Agriculture. "Agricultural Depression in the United States," by W. A. Coutts, reviewed, 92-93
 "La Crise Agricole," by A. Allard, reviewed, 396-98
 Anthropology. "The History of Mankind," by F. Ratzel, translated by A. J. Butler, reviewed, 259-63
 "Art and Life, and the Building and Decoration of Cities," note, 79
 Associations. AMERICAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION MEETING, 271-73
 INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SOCIOLOGY MEETING, 109-12
 NATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE REFORM LEAGUE MEETING, 269-71
 Austria, Postal savings banks in, 48
 Baltimore, charter of, 425
 Bank of England and gold, 213
 Banking. THE RELATION OF POSTAL SAVINGS BANKS TO COMMERCIAL BANKS, 44-53; Interest in postal banks, 44; Contention that they do not interfere with banks, 45; French and English experience, 47; Austrian methods, 48; Is a reserve needed, 49; Advantages over other banks, 50; How soon would they become commercial banks, 52
 Banking principle, 214
 Proposed Reforms of the Monetary System. *See* Money
 Baths, Public, in Birmingham, 285; in Boston, 121; in Philadelphia, 127
 Belligerency, 353
 Birmingham, Public baths in, 285
 BOOK NOTES, 79-89; 235-46; 390-96
 BOOK REVIEWS, 89-108; 246-68; 396-419
 Books received, 299, 447
 Boston, Board of Estimate of, 424; Charter of, 119; Finances of, 425; Parks of, 121; Public baths of, 121; School boards and taxes of, 424; School supplies of, 425; Street railways, consolidation of, 119; Water supply of, 121
 Brooklyn, Gas works of, 116; League for reform in, 422; Street railways of, 115
 Buffalo, Gas works of, 122; Municipal elections in, 122
 California, Restriction on legislature of, 182
 Canadian banks, 210
 Canals, *See* Transportation
 Centralization. *See* Administration
 Charity in Washington, 296
 Charter amendment in Boston, 119
 Chicago, Civil service reform in, 276
 See Municipal Government
 Church in Russia, 147, 165
 Churches, Federation of, in New York, 296
 Cincinnati, Corrupt Practices Act of, 428; Debt of, 428; Reorganization of city government of, 427
 Cities, American, Baltimore, 425; Boston, 119, 278, 423; Brooklyn, 115, 422; Buffalo, 122; Chicago, 276; Cincinnati, 427; Cleveland, 423; New York, 115, 274, 421; Omaha, 429; Philadelphia, 117, 422; Pottsville, 422; Washington, 426
 See, Art
 Cities, Foreign, Birmingham, 285; Glasgow, 430; Grenoble, 286
 Citizens' Union, in New York, 115; in Philadelphia, 119
 Civil service, 181; in New York, 113
 Civilization, *See* Social Philosophy
 Cleveland, Goodrich House in, 134; Municipal Association of, 428
 Coal. "Present State of the Coal Trade in the United Kingdom," by D. A. Thomas, note, 89
 College Settlement work, 292

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

- Colonies. "A Short History of British Colonial Policy," by H. E. Egerton, reviewed, 250-52
 "Les Nouvelles Sociétés Anglo-Saxonnes," by P. Leroy-Beaulieu, note, 79
- Commerce. "Die Handelspolitische Beziehungen Zwischen Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten," by G. M. Fisk, note, 82
 "State Control of Trade and Commerce," by A. B. Stickney, reviewed, 104-6
 "System der Nationalen Schutzpolitik nach Aussen," by J. Wernicke, reviewed, 106-8
- Competition, in railway service, 331
- Constitutional changes in Delaware, 174
- Consumers' League, its general character, *B. 21*; Its underlying theory, *B. 33*; Its origin, *B. 35*; Its difficulties, *B. 36*; Its practicability, *B. 37*; Inadequate to aims proposed, *B. 38*; Possible influence on kind of consumption, *B. 39*; Artistic wants should be encouraged, *B. 40*; The league and the stores, *B. 42*; Advice to buyers, *B. 43*; Work of New York League, *B. 44*; In Philadelphia, *B. 47*
 In New York, 435
- Corrupt practices, Act against, in Ohio, 428; Laws against, 179
- Cotton. "Baumwollproduktion in Amerika," by E. von Halle, note, 83
- Credit money in United States, 191, 195, 204
- Cuba. INTERVENTION AND THE RECOGNITION OF CUBAN INDEPENDENCE, 353-80; Recognition not legally justified, 353; Precedent and precept, 354; Cases where legal rules fail, 356; Legal right of intervention stated, 358; Non-intervention is the rule, 360; Intervention an act of policy, 361; The European concert, 363; The Monroe Doctrine, 364; Spirit of the Doctrine in favor of intervention, 366; Spain's government of Cuba, 366; Insurrection, 367; Fiscal burdens of Cuba, 368; Economic policy, 370; Political wrongs, 371; Relation of United States to Cuba, 373; Trade losses, 374; Injury to citizens, 375; Filibustering, 376; The argument for humanity, 377
- Currency Reform in United States, Strategical advantage of free silver men, *B. 48*; Need of harmony in sound money camp, *B. 49*; Desirability of gold standard, *B. 51*; Disadvantages of proposed plans easily obviated, *B. 53*; Spirit of the plans, *B. 55*; Objections answered, *B. 55*
 See Money
- Delaware, Constitution of, 174
- Economics. A MISGUIDED PHILOSOPHER IN THE FIELD OF ECONOMICS, 227-34; Unity of conception of value, 227; Conflicting theories, 229; Utility of speculations on concepts of theories, 230; Sum of the argument, 233
- "Bargain Theory of Wages" by John Davidson, reviewed 403-5
 "Outlines of Elementary Economics," by H. J. Davenport, note, 237
 "Researches into Mathematical Principles of the Theory of Wealth," by A. Cournot, English translation, note, 237
 "Tendencies in American Economic Thought," by S. Sherwood, note, 394
- Elasticity of money supply, 194
- Election laws, 178
- Elections in Buffalo, 122
- England, Postal savings banks in, 47
 See Cities, Foreign
 See, also, Coal
 See, also, Colonies
 See, also, History
 See, also, Local Government
- Europe. See History
- European concert, 363
- Finance. "Die Preussische Kommunalanleihen," by W. Kähler, note, 240
 "State Tax Commissions in the United States," by J. W. Chapman, note, 391
- Finances of Boston, 424; of Cincinnati, 428; of Omaha, 429
- France, Postal savings banks in, 47; Railway charges in, 325
 See Administration
 See, also, Cities, Foreign
 See, also, History
- Franchises, in Washington, 436; Municipal, Recent laws on, 186
- Freight rates, Railway. See Transportation
- Gas supply in Philadelphia, 301-23
 See Municipal Government
- Gas works, in Brooklyn, 116; in Buffalo, 122; in Philadelphia, 117
- Germany. See History
- Glasgow, Taxation in, 430
- Greece. See History
- Grenoble, Municipal restaurant in, 286
- History, American, "American History Told by Contemporaries," by A. B. Hart, reviewed, 94-98
 "History of South Carolina Under the Proprietary Government," by E. McCrady, reviewed, 407-11
 "The Middle Period, 1817-1858," by J. W. Burgess, 89-92
 "New Governments West of the Alleghenies Before 1780," by G. H. Alden, reviewed, 246-48
 "Select Documents Illustrative of the History of the United States," edited by W. MacDonald, reviewed, 405-7
 "The Struggle Between President Johnson and Congress," by C. E. Chadsey, note, 236
 "Students' History of the United States," by E. Channing, note, 390
 See Cuba

ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY.

- British. "British India," by R. W. Frazer, note, 83
 "Short History of British Colonial Policy," by H. E. Egerton, reviewed, 250-52
 Cuban. *See* Cuba
 European. "Handbook of European History, 476-1871," by A. Hassall, note, 84
 "Histoire politique de l'Europe contemporaine," by C. Seignobos, reviewed, 411-15
 French. "Contemporary American Opinion of the French Revolution," by C. D. Hazen, reviewed, 98-100
 "Evolution of France under the Third Republic," by P. de Coubertin, reviewed, 400-3
 "Des Origines et de l'état de la Nation française," by H. Soulier, reviewed, 415-17
 "M. Thiers, le Comte de St. Vallier, le Gal. de Manteuffel, Liberation du Territoire," by H. Doniol, note, 81
 German. "Die Fleur Thalheim," by A. Meitzen, note, 393
 Greek. "Handbook of Greek Constitutional History," by A. H. J. Greenidge, reviewed, 94
 Spanish. *See* Cuba
 Study of. "Introduction aux Études historiques," by C. Langlois and C. Seignobos, note, 271
 Hungarian Statistical Office, 243
- India. *See* History, British
 Industry. "Notes and Comments," by J. M. Swank, note, 395
 Initiative, Laws of 1897 on, 180
 Insurance, and the state, *B.* 23; and dependent classes, *B.* 25; Relation of to savings, *B.* 26; to taxation, *B.* 26; to economic development, *B.* 27
 International law. *See* Cuba
 Intervention. *See* Cuba
 Iowa. "Report of State Treasurer," note, 85
- Labor. "Anthracite Mine Laborers," by G. O. Virtue, note, 80
 "Report of English Labour Department on Wages and Hours of Labor," note, 242
 Land registration, 189
 Legislation. POLITICAL AND MUNICIPAL LEGISLATION IN 1897, 174-93. Delaware's constitution, 174; Women's suffrage, 175; Other suffrage laws, 176; Primary election law, 176 Ballot and election laws, 178; Corrupt practices, 179; Initiative and referendum, 180; Civil service, 181; State legislatures, 182; Local government, 183; New York charter, 184; Municipal franchises, 186; Alien tax law of Pennsylvania, 188; Prison reform, 189; Railway laws, 189; Land registration, 189; Taxation, 190
 Legislatures of states, Laws governing, 182
- Liquor problem. THE COMMITTEE OF FIFTY AND THEIR WORK, 225-26
 Liquor traffic in New York state, 293
 Local government, Recent laws on, 183
 "English Local Government of Today," by M. R. Maltbie, reviewed, 100-1
- Massachusetts, Street railways in, 423
 Mathematics. "A Brief Introduction to the Infinitesimal Calculus," by I. Fisher, note, 82
 Money. PROPOSED REFORMS OF THE MONETARY SYSTEM, 191-224. Defects of present system, 191; The monetary commission, 192; Its report summarized, 193; General aspects of plan, 194; Does not lessen share of credit money, 195; Does not make currency elastic, 197; Does not relieve treasury, 202; Increases credit money, 204; Not favored by best banks, 205; Danger of contraction, 207; Chances for swindling, 209; Difference between plan and Canadian Bank system, 210; Bank of England, 213; Can banking principle be utilized in United States, 214; Plan of Mr. Gage summarized, 218; Reviewed, 219; Suggestions of President approved, 222; Relation of banking reform to the money question, 223
See Currency reform
- Monroe Doctrine and Cuba, 364
 Municipal Government. THE MUNICIPALITY AND THE GAS SUPPLY, 301-23. Action of Philadelphia, 301; Record of city management, 303; The legacy of the Gas Trust, 304; Public lighting, 305; Influence of Councils, 306; Works not maintained, 308; Leakage, 309; Pay roll swelled, 310; Improvident purchases, 312; Residual products not fully utilized, 312; Recent lease of works, 313; Future price of gas, 316; Probable profits of company, 317; Effects of contract on municipal policy, 319; Social results of city administration, 320
 NOTES ON MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT, 113-23; 274-87, 420-35
 Reading on, *B.* 16
 "Charters of the City of Chicago," by E. J. James, note, 392
 "Greater New York Charter," by M. Ash, note, 235
 "Municipal Problems," by F. J. Goodnow, reviewed, 252-55
 "Study of City Government," by D. F. Wilcox, note, 244
- Navigation. "Report of Commissioner," note, 242
See Transportation.
- Negro. THE STUDY OF THE NEGRO PROBLEMS, 1-23. The negro problems, 1; Their development, 2; Present problems stated, 6; Need of careful study, 9; Previous efforts, 11; Their incompleteness, 14; Lines of future research, 15; Government and universities as agents, 21

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

- Discussion of Negro Problem, *B. 10-16*. Investigation of University of Pennsylvania, *B. 11*; Historical aspects, *B. 11*; Physical condition, *B. 12*; Social aspects, *B. 14*
- Nevada, Woman's suffrage in, 175
- New York City, Citizens' Union of, 115; Consumers' League of, 435, *B. 44*; Dispossessed tenants in, 124; Rapid transit in, 421
- See Municipal Government
- New York State, Civil service of, 113; Liquor traffic in, 293; Primary elections in, 381-83, 420; Railways of, 421
- North Dakota, Suffrage in, 176
- Omaha, Tax commissioner of, 429
- Oregon, Woman's suffrage in, 176
- Parks in Boston, 121
- Parties in Russia, 145 et seq.
- Party primary elections in New York, 381-83
- Passenger fares, Railway. See Transportation
- PERSONAL NOTES, 384-89
- Philadelphia, Citizens' Union of, 119; Corruption in, 423; Gas lease by, 117, 301-23; Mayor's message of, 722; Public baths in, 127
- See Municipal Government
- Political Economy. See Economics
- Political reform movement, in Brooklyn, 422; in Cleveland, 428
- Politics and Sociology, 137, 173
- Postal savings banks. See Banking
- Pottsville, Taxpayers' Association of, 122
- Poverty, Causes of, 130
- Primaries. NEW YORK PRIMARY ELECTION LAW, 381-83. Applies to cities, 381; Registration of voters, 381; Test of party membership, 382; Official primaries, 382; Form of ballot, 383
- New York primary elections, 420
- Prisons, Recent laws on, 189
- Prussia, Railway charges in, 324
- Railway rates and fares, 324-52. See Transportation
- Railways in New York, 421; Recent legislation on, 189
- Referendum in state legislation, 180
- Representation, Primitive, in Russia, 142
- Russia, 137 et seq. See Sociology.
- Saint Mary's Falls Canal, 67 et seq.
- San Francisco, Primary election law of, 176
- Schools in Boston, 424
- Ship canals, See Transportation
- Slavery, Relation of, to negro problems, 2
- Socialism. "Essais sur la conception materialiste de l'histoire," by A. Labriola, note, 86
- "Les origines du Socialisme d'etat en Allemagne," by C. Andler, reviewed, 248-50
- "Le régime socialiste," by G. Renard, note, 394
- Social Philosophy. "American Contributions to Civilization," by C. W. Eliot, note, 391
- "Faith and Social Service," by G. Hodges, note, 86
- "Inequality and Progress," by G. Harris, note, 239
- "The Self-Made Man in American Life," by G. Cleveland, note, 81
- Social Reform. "Encyclopædia of Social Reform." Edited by W. D. P. Bliss, reviewed, 398-400
- Social Science, New German Journal on, *B. 18*
- SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES, 124-36, 288-98, 435-46
- Sociology. SOCIOLOGY APPLIED TO POLITICS, 137-73. Relation of sociology to politics, 137; Conclusions regarding Russia, 138; Is Russia a despotism, 139; Popular participation in government, 141; Byzantine influences, 142; Western ideas drove out primitive representation, 145; Contemporary Russian society, 147; Party tendencies, 148; Imperial reforms, 150; Weakness of representative government, 152; Position of Russian church, 154; Origin of Western aristocracy, 156; Contrast with Russia, 159; Interrelation of East and West, 161; Religious influences, 165; Colonization and economic influences, 167; Intellectual influences, 170.
- New journals on Sociology, *B. 7*;
- Instruction on, in West Virginia University, 438; Readings on, *B. 4*
- "Annales de l'Institut International de Sociologie," note, 244
- "The Social Mind and Education," by G. E. Vincent, reviewed, 264-67
- "The Workers (The East)," by W. A. Wyckoff, reviewed, 267-68
- South Dakota, Suffrage in, 176
- South Carolina. See History
- Spain. See Cuba
- Statistical Office of Hungary, New organic law of, 243
- Statistics. "Area and Population of the United States," and "Density and Distribution of Population in the United States," by W. F. Willcox, reviewed, 417-19
- "Theoretische Statistik" and "Bevölkerungsstatistik," by G. von Mayr, reviewed, 255-59
- Street railways, in Boston, 119; in Brooklyn, 115; in Massachusetts, 423
- Suez Canal, 57 et seq
- Suffrage laws, 175
- Tariff reading recommended, *B. 5*
- Taxation, in Glasgow, 430; Recent state laws on, 190
- Textiles. "Die Produktions und Preisentwicklung der Rohprodukte der Textilindustrie," by W. Schultze, note, 87.
- Tenants in New York, 124.
- Transportation. CAUSES AFFECTING RAILWAY RATES AND FARES, 324-52. Development of freight rates and passenger fares, 324; in Prussia, 324; in France, 325; in United States, 325;

ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY.

Traffic development, 327; Early ideas of railway competition, 329; Railway monopoly of passenger traffic, 330; Competition in freight business, 331; Economic advantage to railroads of low rates, 333; Operating expenses not proportionately increased by larger traffic, 335; Checks on expansion, 337; Can passenger traffic be stimulated, 339; Pressure on railways for reductions, 341; Cost of passenger traffic, 344; Differences in railroad fares, 346; Cause of high fares, 348; Their probable persistence, 351

ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF SHIP CANALS, 54-78; Amsterdam and Manchester canals, 54; Corinth and Kiel canals, 56; Suez Canal, its origin, 57; Its operations, 58; Machinery of trade, 59; Influence on Mediterranean ports, 60; Growth of trade with continent, 61; Indian exports, 63; rice, 64; wheat, 64; Indian imports, 65; Saint Mary's Fall's Canal, its traffic, 67; Development of lake trade, 68; Iron trade of Lake Superior, 70; wheat and flour, 71; lumber, 72; coal, 73; tabular statements, 75

"American Railway Management," by H. S. Haines, note, 239

"Economic History of the B. & O. R. R.," by M. Reizenstein, note, 87
 "Der Eisenbahnenreform in Württemberg," by A. Mülberger, reviewed, 102-4
 "The Year Book of Railway Literature," note, 245

United States, and Cuba, 353-80; Railway rates in, 325 et seq.

See Agriculture

See, also, History

See, also, Statistics

See, also, Transportation

Vacant lot cultivation, 440

Wages, *See* Economics

Washington, Franchises in, 426 Organized charity in, 296

Water supply of Boston, 121

West Virginia University, 438

Wisconsin, Corrupt practices law in, 179;

Primary election law in, 177

Woman's Movement. "Die Frauenbewegung," by G. Cohn, note, 81

Zeitschrift für Socialwissenschaft, note, 395

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
SKETCH OF THE ACADEMY	3
REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE	15
FINANCIAL STATEMENT	17
CHARTER	18
CONSTITUTION	21
BY-LAWS	23
OFFICERS	24
COUNCIL	25
MEMBERSHIP :	
ALPHABETICAL LIST	28
TABULATED STATEMENT	93

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE ACADEMY.

The American Academy of Political and Social Science was founded at a meeting held in Philadelphia, December 14, 1889. ^{Date of organization} It was the outgrowth of the desire for an organization in which the widespread interest in political, economic and social discussion should find a focus. It was felt by those who called the meeting that these interests should have an organ which could properly represent this wide group of sciences, and be at the same time an intermediary between scientific thought and practical effort. In many fields, earnest men and women were at work in various reform movements, without co-operation, and, above all, without the sympathy and support of those pursuing allied interests, whether in a practical or a theoretical way.

These considerations were laid before the preliminary meeting held in December, 1889, and led to the foundation of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. ^{The Academy idea} The Academy form of organization was adopted advisedly. It was not the intention of the founders to form an exclusive and small body of experts on these subjects, but to make the Academy idea thoroughly democratic. This, it is true, is something of a departure from the current notion of an Academy as developed by learned bodies, both in this country and abroad. Nevertheless it is desired to maintain the essential principle of all Academies, namely, co-operation and mutual fellowship among the members. The council determined to admit to the American Academy of Political and Social Science anyone of high or humble station, of great or small intellectual attainments, providing only that a sincere interest in the search for light and truth concerning social and economic questions was manifest. The data of the social sciences are so widely distributed in time and space and are to be derived so directly from the experience and thought of individuals in all stations of life, that it probably lies within the range of possibility for every human being who will observe and reflect upon the commonest experiences of every-day life to contribute something to the sum of knowledge on these subjects. It is therefore, one of the objects of the Academy to stimulate and direct such observation and reflection on the part of all those

who come in touch with this work that they may become, first of all, more intelligent citizens, and secondly, that each member may be willing to assist any other member, through the medium of our publications and, when called upon, through correspondence, in the securing of information from all quarters bearing on social and economic problems. The present large membership, widely distributed geographically, has enabled us to realize already in some small measure this large ideal.

Philadelphia
Social Science
Association
affiliated

At the first meeting the Constitution of the Academy was adopted, officers elected and methods of work outlined. Soon after the foundation of the Academy, a proposition was received from the Philadelphia Social Science Association, looking to a merging of that organization with the newly formed Academy. This proposition was accepted, the members of the Philadelphia Social Science Association becoming members of the Academy, and the publications of the older association passing into its control. A record of the useful and honorable career of the Philadelphia Social Science Association was prepared by Mr. Joseph G. Rosengarten and published in the ANNALS for April, 1891.

Membership

With this nucleus for a membership, the Academy started under fair auspices, and the rapid growth which soon followed more than justified the hopes of its founders. With each increase in membership it has been possible to extend the scope and usefulness of the Academy's work. The record of activity since the foundation of the Academy has been one of constant growth and expansion. Through the active co-operation of its members and of scholars throughout the world, it has been able to pursue the aims of its founders with a degree of success which is cause for congratulation. We stand, however, at the beginning of our work. Deep problems of varied character beset modern society, and the intelligent consideration of them demands an unremitting intellectual labor.

Aims

The object of the Academy, as stated in its constitution, is the promotion of the political and social sciences, in the comprehensive sense of those terms. It has sought to stimulate discussion through holding public meetings, and to foster scientific research through its publications. In both of these chief avenues of its activity it has been singularly successful.

Meetings

The meetings of the Academy have been held at irregular intervals through the winter months in the city of Philadelphia.

At the outset several papers were often read at each meeting, but experience has shown that unless the topics of the papers are related, and furnish the basis of a common discussion, this plan has its disadvantages. More recently each meeting has been devoted to a single topic which has been fruitful in stimulating discussion. In presenting a record of the meetings of the Academy, it has been found practicable to record only the principal speakers and the titles of their papers. Such a list shows the wide variety of topics which fall within the Academy's activity and their importance to the welfare of the community.

The meetings of the Academy have been as follows:

1. March 21, 1890.—Dr. Stuart Wood, "Theories of Wages."
Prof. S. N. Patten, "Decay of Local and State Governments in the United States."
2. April 29, 1890.—Prof. F. H. Giddings, "Province of Sociology."
Prof. E. J. James, "A New System of Passenger Fares."
3. November 13, 1890.—Prof. W. P. Holcomb, "Our National Bureau of Education."
Prof. F. N. Thorpe, "Are the State Governments Decaying?"
4. December 12, 1890.—Prof. C. Stuart Patterson, "The Original Package Decision."
5. January 14, 1891.—Dr. John S. Billings, "Public Health and Municipal Government."
6. February 12, 1891.—Mr. F. W. Holls, "Compulsory Voting."
7. March 12, 1891.—Mr. F. B. Hawley, "Preliminaries to the Discussion of Socialism."
8. April 17, 1891.—Mr. E. R. Johnson, "River and Harbor Bills."
9. May 15, 1891.—Mr. E. P. Oberholtzer, "American Forms of the Referendum."
Prof. S. N. Patten, "Economic Basis of Prohibition."
10. November 24, 1891.—Mr. F. P. Prichard, "The Study of Municipal Government."
Mr. Lincoln L. Eyre, "The Relation of National Party to Municipal Government."
Mr. William Draper Lewis, "The Political Organization of a Modern Municipality."

11. December 15, 1891.—Mr. D. I. Green, "Value as a Quality Instead of a Ratio."

Mr. Charles Richardson, "Party Government."

12. January 26, 1892.—Dr. Charles De Garmo, "Ethical Training in the Public Schools."

13. February 26, 1892.—Mr. R. H. Dana, "The Practical Working of the Australian Voting System in Massachusetts."

Mr. C. C. Binney, "Merits and Defects of the Pennsylvania Ballot Law of 1891."

14. April 5, 1892.—Prof. E. P. Cheyney, "A Third Revolution."

Mr. L. K. Stein, "The Relation of the Street Railways to the City of Philadelphia."

15. May 13, 1892.—Mrs. S. L. Oberholtzer, "School Savings Banks."

Mr. H. I. Smith, "Postal Savings Banks."

16. November 30, 1892.—Prof. F. H. Giddings, "The Ethics of Social Progress."

17. January 12, 1893.—Mr. Horace White, "National and State Banks."

Hon. M. D. Harter, "American Banking and the Money Supply of the Future."

Hon. J. H. Walker, "The Banking System Old and New."

18. February 23, 1893.—Dr. Isaac Sharpless, "The Relation of the State to Education in England and America."

19. April 27, 1893.—Prof. Lester F. Ward, "The Political Ethics of Herbert Spencer."

20. November 17, 1893.—Prof. R. P. Falkner, "The Monetary Conference of 1892."

21. December 20, 1893.—Dr. L. S. Rowe, "Some Factors of Municipal Efficiency."

22. February 8, 1894.—President J. F. Crowell, "Co-operative Study of Political Ethics."

23. March 16, 1894.—Mr. E. L. Godkin, "Problems of Municipal Government."

24. April 20, 1894.—Dr. J. G. Brooks, "The Future Problem of Charity and the Unemployed."

25. May 11, 1894.—Mr. Edward Porritt, "Break-up of the Old System of Two Parties in the House of Commons."

26. October 25, 1894.—Dr. E. R. L. Gould, "The Liquor Problem and Its Scientific Treatment."

27. November 27, 1894.—Prof. S. N. Patten, "Teaching of Political Economy in the Public Schools."
28. January 30, 1895.—F. J. Stimson, Esq., "Uniform State Legislation on Subjects of Extra Territorial Effect."
29. March 7, 1895.—Prof. J. W. Jenks, "Proportional Representation."
30. November 13, 1895.—Prof. L. M. Keasbey, "Nicaragua Canal and the Monroe Doctrine."
31. December 18, 1895.—Dr. S. M. Lindsay, "Social Observation; or, the Modern City as a Laboratory."
32. January 22, 1896.—Prof. George Wharton Pepper, "The Methods of Legal Education."
33. February 27, 1896.—Mr. W. M. F. Round, "The Higher Economics of Penology; or, The Value of Reformatory Effort."
34. March 26, 1896.—Hon. Martin A. Knapp, "Railway Pooling, the Conditions Under Which It Could be Legalized."
35. April 22, 1896.—D. S. Reimsen, Esq., "The Fusion of Political Parties, Australian Methods and Results."
36. November 20, 1896.—Prof. Roland P. Falkner, "The Organization of the Census."
37. December 18, 1896.—Prof. Nicholas Murray Butler, "The Administration of City Schools."
38. February 25, 1897.—Dr. Edward T. Devine, "The Shifting and Floating City Population."
39. March 26, 1897.—Prof. Sidney T. Sherwood, "The Philosophic Basis of Economics: A Word to the Sociologists."
40. April 21, 1897.—Prof. Edmund J. James, "Training for Citizenship."
41. April 22, 1897.—Mr. George E. Bartol, "Foreign Commerce and Its Relation to National Prosperity."
Prof. E. R. Johnson, "American Manufactures in Foreign Markets."
Hon. Robert Adams, Jr., "Opening of Foreign Markets to American Goods."
42. April 22, 1897.—Dr. Joseph H. Senner, "The Immigration Question."
43. April 22, 1897.—Hon. James H. Eckels, "The National Banking System."
44. November 19, 1897.—Dr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, "The Study of the Negro Problems."

45. December 17, 1897.—Mr. L. G. Fouse, "The Economic Relation of Life Insurance to Society and the State."
Mr. Miles Menander Dawson, "The Function of Insurance in Modern Society."
46. January 26, 1898.—Dr. John Graham Brooks, "The Consumers' League."
47. February 25, 1898.—Prof. Joseph French Johnson, "The Proposed Reforms in the Monetary System."
48. April 11, 1898.—Prof. Franklin H. Giddings, "The Practical Value of Sociology."
49. April 12, 1898.—Prof. Leo S. Rowe, "Sociology and Politics."
Prof. Samuel McCune Lindsay, "The Unit of Investigation in Sociology."
50. April 12, 1898.—Prof. John L. Stewart, "The Teaching of Social Sciences in High Schools."
Prof. Edmund J. James, "The Teaching of the Social Sciences in Commercial High Schools."
Prof. George C. Wilson, "The Teaching of the Social Sciences in Colleges."
51. April 13, 1898.—Dr. Fred. H. Wines, "The Relation of Sociology to Philanthropy."
Miss Mary E. Richmond, "The Training of Philanthropic Workers."

Publications

The publications of the Academy have been issued under the title: *ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, and the Supplements to the *ANNALS*. In the *ANNALS* there have appeared a large number of papers submitted to the Academy, which have been read and discussed at its meetings, as well as many read by title only. Thus, the fruitful and stimulating influence of the Academy upon scientific research has been brought to the knowledge of its members. It would be superfluous to name here all the important contributions which have been made to political and social science through the Academy, but a classification of subjects and authors may be a useful means of recording this feature of the Academy's work:

BANKING.—Henry Bacon, D. M. Frederiksen, J. H. Hamilton, M. D. Harter, A. B. Hepburn, E. T. Heyn, J. F. Johnson, J. H. Walker, Horace White, H. W. Williams.

CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY.—G. Arangio Ruiz, E. J. James, J. H. Robinson, R. Saleilles, F. N. Thorpe, W. C. Webster.

- CRIME.—R. P. Falkner, C. H. Reeve, C. D. Wright.
- ECONOMIC THEORY.—E. Boehm-Bawerk, M. Block, J. B. Clark, W. Cunningham, D. I. Green, R. P. Falkner, A. T. Hadley, J. A. Hobson, J. H. Hollander, E. R. Johnson, A. Loria, D. M. Lowrey, C. W. Macfarlane, S. M. McVane, L. S. Merriam, S. N. Patten, E. A. Ross, G. Schmoller, S. Sherwood, William Smart, C. Stroeve, W. G. L. Taylor, C. A. Tuttle, L. Walras, F. v. Wieser, Stuart Wood.
- EDUCATION.—E. W. Bemis, F. W. Blackmar, C. DeGarmo, E. J. James, S. N. Patten, D. G. Ritchie, Isaac Sharpless,
- FINANCE.—E. L. Bogart, E. R. Buckley.
- INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS.—W. D. Dabney, S. B. Harding, D. Kinley, E. Levasseur.
- INSTITUTIONAL HISTORY.—C. M. Andrews, W. J. Ashley, E. P. Cheyney.
- INTERNATIONAL LAW.—A. S. Hershey, E. W. Huffcutt, E. L. Lord.
- JURISPRUDENCE.—F. G. Buckstaff, R. H. Curtis, C. A. Reed F. J. Stimson, F. M. Taylor, C. G. Tiedeman.
- MONEY.—F. Fetter, W. Lotz, C. W. Macfarlane, G. Molesworth, Duc de Noailles, E. A. Ross, W. A. Scott, J. Allen Smith, T. Williams, A. B. Woodford.
- MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.—J. R. Commons, E. L. Godkin, W. D. Lewis, J. W. Pryor, F. P. Prichard, C. Richardson, L. S. Rowe.
- POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.—C. Bornhak, J. G. Bourlnot. G. Bradford, W. J. Branson, E. D. Durand, G. H. Haynes, E. J. James, J. Macy, A. D. Morse, B. Moses, S. N. Patten, E. Porritt, F. Sigel, F. Snow, L. Waurin, J. T. Young.
- POLITICAL REFORMS.—C. C. Binney, J. R. Commons, F. W. Holls, E. J. James, J. W. Jenks, E. P. Oberholtzer, D. S. Remsen.
- POLITICAL THEORY.—F. I. Herrlott, C. H. Lincoln, I. Loos, D. G. Ritchie, E. V. Robinson, J. H. Robinson, L. S. Rowe.
- SOCIAL QUESTIONS.—J. G. Brooks, C. H. Cooley, J. W. Davidson, E. T. Devine, H. S. Dudley, W. E. B. DuBois, E. T. Heyn, G. K. Holmes, W. I. Hull, S. M. Lindsay, J. Mavor, W. Milliet, S. L. Oberholtzer, P. de Rousiers, J. H. Senner.

SOCIOLOGY.—A. F. Bentley, J. L. Brownell, G. A. Flamingo, F. H. Giddings, H. H. Powers, C. de Lestrade, W. D. Lewis, S. M. Lindsay, S. N. Patten, W. H. Schoff, F. Sigel, G. Simmel, L. F. Ward.

TAXATION.—T. N. Carver, R. T. Colburn, F. C. Howe, E. R. Johnson, E. A. Ross.

TRANSPORTATION.—R. T. Colburn, J. P. Davis, J. A. Fairlie, E. R. Johnson, L. M. Keasbey, M. A. Knapp, B. H. Meyer, J. W. Miller, H. T. Newcomb, W. E. Weyl.

Book-reviews

In addition to the publication of papers presented to the Academy, the editors have sought to make the ANNALS helpful to students of political and social science by furnishing as complete a record as possible of publications and events which have a bearing upon the development of those subjects. Particular attention has been given to the notice and review of books, a large part of each issue of the ANNALS being devoted to this object. In this record the varied interests of those who compose the Academy have been kept in view, and through it the cordial co-operation of scholars in all parts of the world has been enlisted in the work of the Academy. As time has progressed, the editorial conduct of the ANNALS has been strengthened, and the co-operation of an increasing number of scholars has been obtained.

Editorial management

The Academy has been fortunate in preserving the continuity of editorial work, in connection with the ANNALS, and the record of its growth is a continuous one.

The first issue of the ANNALS was made in July, 1890. The Board of Editors consisted of Professor Edmund J. James, Editor-in-Chief, and Professors Franklin H. Giddings and Roland P. Falkner as Associate Editors. In the first instance, the ANNALS was issued as a quarterly. The success of the enterprise and the cordial support of scholars which was received, made it possible in the second volume, commencing with the number for July, 1891, to issue the ANNALS every other month. In the same year the list of editors was enlarged by the addition of the name of Professor James H. Robinson. With the close of the second volume of the ANNALS, Professor Franklin H. Giddings, who had accepted a position at Columbia University, resigned as Associate Editor.

Up to this time there had been no specific distribution of the editorial work, and the care of the Book Department, in particu-

lar, had been in the charge of Professors Falkner and Robinson. With the third volume, the first issue of which was in July, 1892, the Editorial Board consisted of Professor Edmund J. James, Editor-in-Chief, Professor Roland P. Falkner and James H. Robinson as Associate Editors. No change occurred in the Editorial Board until January, 1896. But, in the meantime, a somewhat different organization of the editorial work secured the co-operation of a number of other scholars. Thus, the Book Department in Volume III. was in charge of Professor Roland P. Falkner and Dr. Emory R. Johnson. With the issue of July, 1893, which began the fourth volume of the ANNALS, Dr. Emory R. Johnson took exclusive charge of the Book Department, and remained in charge of this work until January, 1896. With the third issue of the fifth volume (November, 1894), there was established in each number of the ANNALS a Department of Notes on Municipal Government, under the charge of Dr. L. S. Rowe, and with the issue of January, 1895, a Department of Sociological Notes, under the charge of Dr. S. M. Lindsay. These gentlemen have continued this work until the present time.

The bulk of the ANNALS continued to increase so that the bound volumes became too awkward to handle, and, in accordance with a desire expressed by many readers of the ANNALS, the yearly publications have been, from July, 1895, published as two volumes annually, each volume containing three numbers.*

With the issue of January, 1896, a series of changes was made in the editorial conduct of the ANNALS. The removal of Professor James to Chicago made it impossible for him to retain the responsibilities of Editor-in-Chief, but it was the general desire that he should continue his editorial connection with the ANNALS. He became Associate Editor, while the editorship was filled by the promotion of Professor Roland P. Falkner. Professor Robinson had, in the meantime, been called to Columbia University, New York, and found it necessary to give up his work in the ANNALS. His place as Associate Editor was filled

* The following statement shows in figures the growth of the publishing activity of the Academy:

1890-91 ANNALS,	754 pp.	Supplements,	363 pp.
1891-92 "	896 pp.		
1892-93 "	852 pp.	"	148 pp.
1893-94 "	1016 pp.	"	314 pp.
1894-95 "	1649 pp.	"	178 pp.
1895-96 "	1146 pp.	"	191 pp.
1896-97 "	1124 pp.	"	84 pp.
1897-98 "	978 pp.	"	94 pp.

by the appointment of Professor Emory R. Johnson, who had long been connected with the Book Department of the ANNALS. This place being thus rendered vacant, it was filled by the appointment of Professor Henry R. Seager, who has had charge of the Book Department since January, 1896. No further change in the personnel of the editorial corps has taken place since January, 1896.

Monographs
and supple-
ments

A distinctive feature of the work of the Academy has been the promotion of scientific research through the publication of longer monographs and articles. The editors have considered solely the scientific value of the material which has been presented to them, and have not hesitated to publish in the ANNALS itself articles whose length considerably exceeds that of the customary contribution to scientific periodicals. In addition to this there have been published from time to time, supplements devoted to various topics connected with the work of the Academy. An inspection of the list which has been published shows important contributions to statistics, economic history, transportation, constitutional law, and sociology. To the Academy is due the credit of having first published in the English language a systematic work upon the subject of statistics, and of having made accessible to students of political science the constitutional laws of European nations. Not less important have been the other contributions which have been published in this form. A list of such publications up to the present time, is as follows:

1891.—"Public Health and Municipal Government," by Dr. John S. Billings. Pp. 23.

1891.—"History, Theory and Technique of Statistics," by Prof. August Meitzen; translated by Prof. Roland P. Falkner. Pp. 243.

1893.—"Constitution of the United States of Colombia," translated with an Historical Introduction by Prof. Bernard Moses. Pp. 70.

1893.—"Constitutional and Organic Laws of France," translated with an Historical Introduction by Prof. C. F. A. Currier. Pp. 78.

1893.—"Inland Waterways: Their Relation to Transportation," by Prof. Emory R. Johnson. Pp. 164.

1894.—"History of Political Economy," by Prof. Gustav Cohn; translated by Dr. Joseph Adna Hill. Pp. 142.

1894.—"The Theory of Sociology," by Prof. Franklin H. Giddings. Pp. 80.

1894.—"Constitution of the Kingdom of Prussia," translated and supplied with an Introduction and Notes by Prof. James Harvey Robinson. Pp. 54.

1894.—"Constitution of the Kingdom of Italy," translated and supplied with an Introduction and Notes by Prof. S. M. Lindsay and Prof. L. S. Rowe. Pp. 44.

1896.—"The Theory of Social Forces," by Prof. Simon N. Patten. Pp. 151.

1896.—"Constitution of the Kingdom of Belgium," translated and supplied with an Introduction and Notes by Prof. John M. Vincent and Ada S. Vincent. Pp. 40.

From time to time Bulletins have been sent out from the **Bulletins** office of the Academy, containing notices of meetings, information concerning speakers and publications. In October, 1897, it was decided to make these Bulletins of more permanent value and to issue them at irregular intervals in uniform size and style with the Academy's other publications. The first one in the new series thus inaugurated appeared November 2, and five Bulletins, aggregating sixty-four pages, were issued up to May 1. These are edited by the First Vice-President and contain notices of meetings, resumé of the discussion at meetings, answers to correspondents, especially those furnishing bibliographies on various topics, and other items of more or less permanent value for reference. It is hoped that members will, in the future, preserve the Bulletins for binding together with the ANNALS as part of the regular publications of the Academy. The distinctive purpose aimed at in the Bulletins as at present constituted is stated in the following paragraph, which appeared in the first number of the new series:

"The object of this new series of Bulletins, which begins with the present number, is to furnish members of the Academy with a channel of communication between the membership body and its officers, and between individual members. It is hoped that all members will make use of this for the purpose of securing more intimate relations between those residing at a distance, who may not be able to attend the meetings of the Academy, and those who come more frequently into contact with each other. Communications of a more personal nature than it is possible to publish in the ANNALS will be welcomed in these Bulletins. Information concerning scientific work upon which members of the Academy may be engaged will be gladly received, especially announcements of investigations of any topic upon

which members may desire to have the opinion or co-operation of other members. The officers of the Academy will welcome requests for literature on any topic or advice for the guidance of individual members or groups of members, in their private reading and study; also, criticisms of any of the Academy's publications, and suggestions looking to the improvement of the Academy's methods and to the enlargement of its usefulness."

In presenting this brief record of the work of the Academy, we are conscious that the work has been favored by the conservative policy which has retained experienced officers in their positions. Professor Edmund J. James was elected President of the Academy at its first meeting and continues to occupy that post.

Upon the removal of Professor James to Chicago, it was found necessary, however, inasmuch as Philadelphia is designated as the headquarters of the Academy by the charter, to invest the First Vice-President with many of the duties of Acting President. Professor Falkner performed these duties with great efficiency and fidelity, and at considerable personal sacrifice, during the period from February, 1896, to July 1, 1897, when, at his request, owing to the time and labor required of him as Editor of the ANNALS, he was relieved of the work of First Vice-President, and Professor Lindsay was chosen to fill the place.

We may conclude our record with a summary statement of the officers of the Academy which shows a long continued service on the part of Professor F. H. Giddings as Second Vice-President, Mr. Stuart Wood as Treasurer, and Professor John L. Stewart as Librarian.

President, Edmund J. James, 1890-

First Vice-President, Henry C. Lea, 1890-95.

Roland P. Falkner, 1896-97.

Samuel McCune Lindsay, 1897-

Second Vice-President, F. H. Giddings, 1890-

Third Vice-President, W. P. Holcomb, 1890-94.

Woodrow Wilson, 1895-

Corresponding Secretary, Roland P. Faulkner, 1890-95.

Henry R. Seager, 1896-

Recording Secretary, George Henderson, 1890-92.

Clinton R. Woodruff, 1893-

General Secretary, Clinton R. Woodruff, 1890-92.

John Quincy Adams, 1894-

Treasurer, Stuart Wood, 1890-

Librarian, John L. Stewart, 1890-

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. (1897.)

During the year ending December 31, 1897, the Academy held its first general meeting, which consisted of four scientific sessions. The Academy also held four other scientific sessions. The first of these was the thirty-eighth session of the Academy and was held on February 25. Dr. Edward T. Devine, of New York City, read a paper on "The Shiftless and Floating City Population."

The thirty-ninth session of the Academy was held on March 26, and the paper of the evening was read by Professor Sydney Sherwood, of Johns Hopkins University, his subject being "The Philosophic Basis of Economics."

The first annual meeting of the Academy was held on April 21 and 22. At the opening meeting, on the evening of April 21, Professor Edmund J. James, President of the Academy, delivered the annual address, his subject was "The Training for Citizenship. At the session on the morning of the 22, papers were read by Mr. George E. Bartol, Professor Emory R. Johnson and Hon. Robert Adams, Jr. In the afternoon papers were read by United States Commissioner of Immigration, Joseph H. Senner, Professor Roland P. Falkner and S. G. Fisher, Esq. The subject was "The Restriction of Immigration." In the evening Hon. James H. Eckels, Comptroller of the Currency, delivered an address upon "The National Banking System." This was the last session of the General Meeting.

The forty-fourth scientific session of the Academy was held on November 19, 1897. About five hundred persons were present who listened to a paper by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, of Atlanta University on "The Study of the Negro Problem." The meeting was presided over by Charles C. Harrison, LL. D., Provost of the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. DuBois' paper was discussed by Professor John B. McMaster, of the University of Pennsylvania; Dr. D. H. Williams, of Washington, Rev. H. L. Phillips and Rev. Dr. Charles Wood, of Philadelphia.

The forty-fifth session of the Academy was held on December 17. The principal paper was read by Mr. L. G. Fouse on "The Economic Relation of Life Insurance to Society and State. This subject was also discussed by Mr. Miles M. Dawson, of New York City; Dr. William D. Whiting, of New York City; Mr. G. D. Fryer, of Philadelphia, and Professor Roland P. Falkner, of the University of Pennsylvania.

Reception
committee

In September, 1897, a local Reception Committee of ladies was organized by and under the chairmanship of Mrs. Charles Custis Harrison. This committee rendered a great service throughout the winter in taking charge of the social features of the Academy's meetings held in Philadelphia.

During the year the Academy issued six numbers of the ANNALS and one supplement, the latter being the hand-book. The numbers constitute the ninth and tenth volumes of its proceedings. These volumes consist of 586 and 512 pages respectively.

The membership of the Academy on May 1, 1897 (the date of the publication of the hand-book), was 1735. There were in addition 167 subscribers to the ANNALS, making a total of members and subscribers of 1902.

In contemplation of a new issue of the hand-book of the Academy the question was raised whether the printed Constitution and By-Laws were in exact conformity with the Charter of Incorporation. The matter has been referred to a sub-committee with instructions to prepare a general revision of the Constitution and By-Laws and to report the same to the Council for action.

Respectfully submitted,

ROLAND P. FALKNER,
Chairman.

SUMMARY OF INCOME AND EXPENSE ACCOUNT FOR 1897.

INCOME.

Balance on hand January 1, 1897.....	\$1,462 52	Treasurer's report
Annual Membership Fees.....	7,193 98	
Life Membership Fees.....	200 00	
Sales of Publications.....	1,600 50	
Special Contributions.....	333 00	
Interest and Income from Investments.....	368 43	
	<hr/>	
	\$11,163 43	

EXPENSES.

Printing (ANNALS, Supplement, Special Editions, Bulletins, etc.).....	\$5,544 66	
Salaries (Manager, Stenographer and Clerks)	2,155 97	
Office Expenses (Postage on ANNALS and Publications, Stationery, etc.).....	1,354 12	
Meetings (Rent of Hall and Reception Expenses).....	438 65	
Balance (of which \$1,573.30 has been temporarily invested in Philadelphia City Bonds).....	1,670 03	
	<hr/>	
	\$11,163 43	

We hereby certify that the above summary of Income and Expense account for 1897 has been audited by us and is correct.

LYBRAND, ROSS BROS. & MONTGOMERY,

Public Accounts and Auditors.

Philadelphia, May 21, 1898.

CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION
OF
The American Academy of Political and Social Science.

BE IT KNOWN, That the subscribers, having associated themselves together for the purpose of promoting the progress of the political and social sciences, and being desirous of becoming incorporated agreeably to the provisions of the Act of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, entitled "An Act to provide for the Incorporation and Regulation of certain Corporations," approved the twenty-ninth day of April, Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and seventy-four, and its supplements, do hereby declare, set forth and certify that the following are the purposes, objects, articles and conditions of their said Association, for and upon which they desire to be incorporated:

I. The name of the Corporation shall be THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.

II. The purpose for which the Corporation is formed is the promotion of the progress of the political and social sciences.

III. The place where the business of said Corporation is to be transacted is the city of Philadelphia.

IV. The Corporation is to exist perpetually.

V. The names and residences of the subscribers are as follows:

Henry Charles Lea, 2000 Walnut St., Philadelphia.

Stuart Wood, 1620 Locust St., Philadelphia.

Roland Post Falkner, 36 Tulpehocken St., Philadelphia.

Joseph G. Rosengarten, 1532 Chestnut St., Philadelphia.

Simon Nelson Patten, 221 DeKalb Square, Philadelphia.

Edmund Janes James, 3722 Locust St., Philadelphia.

VI. The Corporation is to be managed by a Board of Directors, consisting of nine members, and the names and residences of those chosen Directors for the first year are:

Edmund Janes James, 3722 Locust St., Philadelphia.
 Franklin H. Giddings, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania.
 Roland Post Falkner, 36 Tulpehocken St., Philadelphia.
 George Henderson, 1420 Master St., Philadelphia.
 Henry Charles Lea, 2000 Walnut St., Philadelphia.
 William Penn Holcomb, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.
 Clinton Rogers Woodruff, 822 Windsor Square, Phila.
 Stuart Wood, 1620 Locust St., Philadelphia.

John Lammey Stewart, 1826 Dickinson St., Philadelphia.

VII. The clear yearly value of the property to be held by the Corporation will not exceed the sum of thirty thousand dollars.

Witness our hands and seals this fourteenth day of February, Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and ninety-one (1891).

STUART WOOD,
 HENRY C. LEA,
 ROLAND POST FALKNER,
 JOSEPH G. ROSENGARTEN,
 SIMON N. PATTEN,
 EDMUND J. JAMES.

Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, }
 County of Philadelphia. } ss.

Before me, the subscriber, Recorder of Deeds of the County of Philadelphia, personally appeared Roland Post Falkner, Simon N. Patten and Edmund J. James, three of the subscribers of the above and foregoing Certificate of Incorporation of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, and in due form of law acknowledged the same to be their act and deed.

Witness my hand and official seal this fourteenth day of February, Anno Domini 1891.

JOS. K. FLETCHER,
 Deputy Recorder.

DECREE.

In the Court of Common Pleas No. 3 of Philadelphia County, of March Term, 1891. No. 314.

And now, this fourth day of April, A. D. 1891, the above Certificate of Incorporation having been presented to me, a Law

Judge of said County, accompanied by due proof of publication of the notice of this application as required by the Act of Assembly and rule of this Court in such case made and provided, I certify that I have examined and perused the said writing, and have found the same to be in proper form and within the purposes named in the first class specified in Section Second of the Act of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, entitled "An Act to provide for the Incorporation and Regulation of certain Corporations," approved April 29, 1874, and the supplements thereto, and the same appearing to be lawful and not injurious to the community, I do hereby, on motion of C. Stuart Patterson on behalf of petitioners, order and direct that the said Certificate of Incorporation or charter of THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE aforesaid be, and the same is hereby approved, and that upon the recording of the same and of this order the subscribers thereto and their associates shall be a corporation by the name of "THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE," for the purposes and upon the terms therein stated.

HENRY REED.

[SEAL]

Recorded in the office for recording deeds in and for the County of Philadelphia, in Charter Book 17, page 123.

Witness my hand and seal of office this fourth day of April, Anno Domini 1891.

THOMAS GREEN,
Recorder of Deeds.

The American Academy of Political and Social Science.

CONSTITUTION.

ART. I.

Name.

This Association shall be known as The American Academy of Political and Social Science.

ART. II.

Object.

The object of the Academy is the promotion of the political and social sciences in the comprehensive sense of those terms.

With no intention of excluding other suitable means, the following methods may be enumerated as of special importance in furthering the ends of the Society:

1. Accumulation of a library of works pertaining to the subjects cultivated by the Academy, and, in general, the provision of facilities for research.

2. Encouragement of investigation by the offering of prizes for specified contributions to science, and by extending pecuniary aid in suitable cases to students and investigators.

3. Publication of valuable papers and reports presented to the Academy either by members or others.

4. Regular meetings for the presentation and discussion of papers and other contributions to political and social science.

5. Dissemination of political and economic knowledge throughout the community by the establishment of public lecture courses in political and social science, and by such other means as may from time to time seem expedient.

ART. III.

The Academy shall consist of a Council and members, the former to be chosen from the latter.

ART. IV.

Any person may become a member of the Academy who, having been proposed by a member, shall be approved by the Council.

The fees of the members shall be fixed by the Council.

The Council may, by a majority vote of all members, create new forms of membership at discretion.

Members shall be entitled to receive the regular reports of the proceedings of the Academy; and to such other privileges as the Constitution and By-Laws of the Academy may confer upon them.

ART. V.

The Council.

The Council shall consist of at least ten members, chosen in the first instance by the Academy. It shall be authorized to enlarge its number at pleasure, and to fill all vacancies: provided that no person shall be chosen a Councilor who is not known to be actively interested in the promotion of some phase of political or social science, either in a theoretical or practical way: and provided further, that at least one-fifth of the Council shall be renewed each year, retiring members being re-eligible indefinitely.

To the Council shall be committed the control and management of the business and interests of the Academy, subject only to the restrictions of this Constitution. It shall choose its own officers and committees, determining their number and functions, such officers and committees being *ex-officio* the officers and committees of the Academy.

The Council shall make each year a report of its proceedings to the Academy, and may request the co-operation of members and others in the work of the Academy.

The Council shall be authorized to make all necessary rules and regulations for the conduct of the Academy, not in conflict with this instrument.

Any member or Councilor may be struck from the list if more than three months in arrear for the annual fee or other fees levied by the Academy: provided that at least two notices shall have been sent that such fee or fees are due.

Any Councilor may be expelled from the Academy by a majority vote of all members of the Council: provided that printed notice be given to each member at least one month beforehand of intention to make such motion.

ART. VI.

Amendments.

Amendments to this Constitution may be made when proposed by a majority of all the Councilors and approved by a majority

of all the members present at any regular meeting: provided that the number present shall be at least one-tenth of all the members: and provided further that a notice of such proposed amendment shall have been given at the preceding regular meeting, and a printed copy sent to each member at least one month before such voting.

BY-LAWS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.

1. The officers of the Council shall be a President, three Vice-Presidents, three Secretaries—entitled respectively Recording, Corresponding and General—a Treasurer and a Librarian.

2. They shall be chosen for one year, and hold office until their successors are duly qualified.

3. Their duties shall be such as are usually assigned to such officers, subject to qualification and definition by the Council.

4. The officers of the Council, together with such members as may be chosen by the Council for one year, shall constitute an Executive Committee, with such powers as may be entrusted to it by the Council.

5. No money shall be drawn from the treasury except on order of the Executive Committee or Council, countersigned by the Recording Secretary, who shall keep a list of such orders, their date, amounts and payees.

6. Changes may be made in these By-Laws at any regular meeting of the Council by a majority of those present.

7. Any one may become a life member by the payment of \$100 at one time; and a patron by the payment of \$500 at one time; and both life members and patrons shall be exempt from the payment of annual fees, and shall be entitled to all the privileges of members.

8. Seven members of the Council shall constitute a quorum at any regular meeting of the Council.

OFFICERS.

President,

EDMUND J. JAMES, PH. D., University of Chicago.

Vice-Presidents,

PROF. SAMUEL M. LINDSAY, PH. D.,
University of Pennsylvania.

PROF. F. H. GIDDINGS, PH. D.,
Columbia University.

PROF. WOODROW WILSON, PH. D.,
Princeton University.

Secretaries.

Corresponding Sec'y,
H. R. SEAGER, PH. D.,
37th and Locust Street.

General Secretary,
JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, PH. D.,
37th and Locust Street.

Recording Sec'y,

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF,
514 Walnut Street.

Treasurer,

STUART WOOD,
400 Chestnut Street.

Librarian,

JOHN L. STEWART,
Manual Training School.

GENERAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE.

RT. HON. ARTHUR J. BALFOUR, M. P.,
London, England.

DR. WM. PRESTON JOHNSTON,
President of Tulane University.

PROF. C. F. BASTABLE,
Dublin University.

VERY REV. JOHN J. KEANE, D. D.,
Rome, Italy.

PROF. F. W. BLACKMAR,
University of Kansas.

PROF. E. LEVASSEUR,
Paris, France.

J. G. BOURINOT, C.M.G., PH.D., D.C.L.,
Ottawa, Canada.

PROF. AUGUST MEITZEN,
University of Berlin.

PROF. R. T. ELY,
Wisconsin University.

PROF. BERNARD MOSES,
University of California.

PROF. HENRY W. FARNAM,
Yale University.

PROF. J. S. NICHOLSON, M. A.,
Edinburgh University.

PROF. W. W. FOLWELL,
University of Minnesota.

DR. HENRY WADE ROGERS,
President Northwestern University.

HON. LYMAN J. GAGE,
Washington, D. C.

PROF. HENRY SIDGWICK,
Cambridge University.

DR. KARL T. VON INAMA-STERNEGG,
Vienna, Austria.

PROF. WILLIAM SMART,
University of Glasgow.

PROF. JOHN K. INGRAM, LL.D.,
Trinity College, Dublin.

SIMON STERNE, Esq.,
New York City.

PROF. J. W. JENKS,
Cornell University.

HON. HANNIS TAYLOR, LL. D.,
Mobile, Ala.

PROF. LESTER F. WARD,
Washington, D. C.

COUNCIL.

Term of office expiring December 31, 1898:

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Brazil	2	Norway	2
Colombia	2	Roumania	1
AFRICA—		Russia	2
Natal	1	Spain	1
ASIA—		Sweden	3
China	1	Switzerland	2
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Georgia	12	Montana	11
Idaho	2	Nebraska	15
Illinois	104	Nevada	1
Indiana	21	New Hampshire	4
Iowa	26	New Jersey	29
Kansas	15	New Mexico	4

New York	219	Texas	36
North Carolina	17	Utah	3
North Dakota	6	Vermont	6
Ohio	51	Virginia	5
Oklahoma	1	Washington	10
Oregon	4	West Virginia	5
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